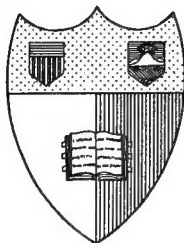


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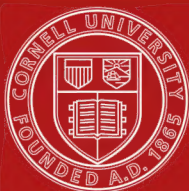
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THE
DEBATES
OF THE
GENERAL CONFERENCE,
OF THE M. E. CHURCH,
May, 1844.

TO WHICH IS ADDED A REVIEW OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF
SAID CONFERENCE,

By REV. LUTHER LEE AND REV. E. SMITH.

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY O. SCOTT,
FOR THE WESLEYAN METHODIST CONNECTION OF AMERICA.

L. J. McINDOE, Printer.

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1845.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
GENERAL CONFERENCE.
OF THE M. E. CHURCH,
IN SESSION AT NEW-YORK CITY, MAY 1844.

[REPORTED FOR THE TRUE WESLEYAN.]

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE.

Wednesday, May 1.

YESTERDAY and this morning nearly all the delegates to the Conference now in session in this city, arrived. They come up from a wide extent of territory, to represent a Connection, and deliberate upon the interests of a denomination, confessedly larger, and more rapidly increasing, than any of all the others in our favored land.

The appearance of this assembly is quite imposing, and commands respect. The associations that crowd the mind, while gazing upon these venerable and devoted ministers of the denomination, by whose instrumentality many of us first drew the breath of spiritual life, are solemn and yet thrilling. Here are fathers who commenced their spiritual labor of love when reproach and want were the sole rewards of their toil. They have toiled on through obstacles sufficient to embarrass, turn aside and overwhelm men of ordinary nerve, and success has crowned their efforts in an unparalleled manner. They have, we may think, incorporated with the moral elements of their edifice, principles at war with stern justice and uncompromising right; the ill effects of which are but too apparent already, and may occasion protracted anxiety and ultimate confusion. But "honor to whom honor" — they have made noble sacrifices, and produced glorious results. They should have the credit

Here too are young men, and those of middle age, whose talents, if directed in other channels, would secure to them higher distinction, and greater emolument. They have less to contend with, and more to encourage them. They, to some extent, inhabit the cities their fathers have builded, and eat the fruit of vineyards already planted; yet not without continuing to enlarge the edifice, and cultivate assiduously their vast inheritance. No more envious desire is felt by me, than this, that they may be "led into all truth," and hasten to consummate the great purpose of Wesleyanism, ancient and modern, i. e., "To spread scriptural holiness over these lands."

The opening services were introduced by reading the Holy Scriptures by Rev. Bishop Soule. Then was read and sung the beautiful hymn commencing

"Draw near, O Son of God, draw near."

After this, prayer was offered by the Rev. Geo. Pickering, of the N. E. Conference, followed by Dr. Capers, of the South Carolina Conference.

The Secretaries of the last General Conference were then called forward, and the delegates presented their credentials, after which, Thomas B. Sargent, of Baltimore Conference, was elected Secretary, and J. Houghtaling, and — Kenny, of Pittsburgh, city, (not a member of the General Conference) were elected Assistant Secretaries. On the last nomination an interesting and spirited discussion ensued with reference to encouraging preachers not members of the General Conference, in being absent from their work. It was very readily obviated by those acquainted with the provision made, and a remark was made by some one from the West, that the proposition to have a Western man Assistant Secretary, seemed to be rather unfavorably received by some.

The rules of the last General Conference were read and adopted. Fixing the hour for beginning the session each day, elicited a pleasant interchange of thoughts on early rising. Peter Cartwright thought that it might be that some of the preachers loved to lay abed in the morning. He wanted them to begin early. He had walked two miles this morning, and got here by eight o'clock, and was willing to do it every day.

Voted to request the Bishops to deliver their address this morning. Bishop Soule said they were not yet prepared. It was deferred for the present.

Early, of Virginia, offered a set of resolutions, providing for various committees. They were adopted, providing for the following: A committee on Episcopacy, of one from each Conference — one on the Itinerancy — one on Boundaries, and one on Missions, of the same size —

one on Education, of seven members—one on the Book Concern, of nine members—one on Temperance, of seven members—one on the Bible cause, of seven members—one on Sabbath Schools and Tracks, of seven members—but no one named the appointment of a committee on Slavery.

In view of having the doings of the Conference known to the church generally, and to prevent the people from having the doings reported to them only through the medium of unauthorized sources, it was voted to appoint a committee, to whom should be referred the question of employing a reporter, and the publication of the doings of the Conference daily, in an Extra Christian Advocate. The committee is Early, of Va., Dr. Bangs, of N. Y., Dr. Capers, of S. C., Dr. Elliott, of O., and Moses Hill, of Me. A resolution providing for the publication, in pamphlet form, of the Minutes of the last General Conference, and the reported doings of this, was also referred to the same committee.

The death of Bishop Roberts was feelingly referred to, and a sermon will be preached at some future time during the session, the subject being referred to the Bishops. The Bishop remarked that if there was no objection made to it, the large committees provided for would be appointed by the nomination of the various delegations from the several annual conferences.

None of the committees provided for are yet announced, except the one on reporting and publishing the doings of the Conference.

Just before the adjournment this morning, Bishop Soule requested an extension of the time a few moments, that he might offer a few remarks. This was agreed to, and the following comprises the substance of his address.

“It has been customary at or near the commencement of each General Conference, for the superintendents to deliver an address. This custom has been approved hitherto, and by reference to your doings this morning, it is manifest that you wish this custom should be adhered to. We have an address prepared. We are ready to communicate it to you. To-morrow we shall present it. But we wish to say that it is desired by us to address the General Conference exclusively. We desire that you should sit with closed doors during the time occupied by the delivery of the address. For this there are several sufficient reasons.

“It is an address to you. You may not desire its publication. If it is published, we desire that it should go before the public as we deliver it. But if it is delivered to a promiscuous audience, it will be reported partially and incorrectly. And you have not yet fixed upon a reporter, by

whom it would be reported authoritatively. This is our request — for the reasons given.”

It was thereupon voted to sit with closed doors while the address is being delivered. So your readers can have no information of what is contained in the address for the present. But as it respects the privilege of reporting the doings of the Conference, there will be no difficulty, as any errors that may occur, if serious, may be obviated by the authorized version, that will doubtless be given. This will secure to your reporter an unmolested seat within hearing of the deliberations.

The Conference adjourned about 1 1-2 P. M. to-day.

L. C. M.

Thursday, May 2.

THE report of the first day's session was written in such a hurry, to secure its arrival in Boston early enough for insertion, as announced, that it was impossible to throw in any incidents, to enliven the mere narrative of business transactions. I send now a few sketches for the entertainment of your readers.

On the motion to elect Wesley Kenney assistant Secretary, a pleasant and spirited discussion was engaged in for a few minutes, in substance as follows.

T. Spicer, of Troy Conference, wanted to know whether brother Kenney had a good voice, as that was indispensable. Bishop Soule said he would go security for voice. H. Slicer, of the Baltimore Conference, thought an important principle was involved in his election. Not being a member of the General Conference, we give encouragement, by choosing him, to preachers being absent from their work, when they should be at home attending to it. If none of our own body were competent, there might be a necessity for such choice from without. I voted against it on this ground at a previous General Conference, and shall for this reason go against it now. A brother from the West thought that some brethren were very sensitive when a western man is named for office. He thought that brother Kenny could be as well spared from his work as the brother from Baltimore, who had served the General Conference in 1836 and 1840 in the same capacity, though not a member of the body. H. Slicer here arose, and said that no vindication was necessary, though he would observe, respecting the brother alluded to, that he was in Cincinnati on a visit to his widowed mother.

for two or three weeks in 1836. And being stationed near Baltimore, in 1840, he was able to serve the Conference the whole time, and attend to his work on the Sabbath, besides. J. B. McFerrin (I believe it was) in a pleasant tone, rather calculated to excite merriment than any worse feeling, remarked, that "they must have precious little to do in that region, where all the work was performed on the Sabbath! It may furnish subject of inquiry hereafter, as to their mode of laying out the work there." Slicer explained, that the Sabbath work only was referred to by him; which observation rather took off the edge of what the other had said, although the pleasantry produced thereby was generally manifest.

During the first day, the main part of the business talk was performed by the Southern delegates, who seem to have quite a faculty for taking the lead. Their personal appearance compares well with that of others from the West and East. Few men have a more pleasant and inviting appearance than Dr. Capers. With a countenance peculiarly mild, a pleasant voice, lively manner of speaking, and finely moulded features, he is always listened to with pleasure. I presume that the Superintendents especially were gratified, with a compliment he paid them, while referring to the quadrennial investigation to which their administration is subjected.

"I repeat it," said he, "their administration is inquired into—not their character. For with all the charity peculiar to Methodism, we take one thing for granted, that is, that the character of our Bishops is beyond suspicion. Men who have sustained themselves so honorably, for so many years, before being elevated to their present exalted and dignified stations, are above suspicion. I believe, sir," addressing the presiding Bishop (Soule), "there is no provision in our Discipline for the examination of their character?" "There is not," he replied. "And I hope," resumed Dr. Capers, "that there never will be."

The Doctor preached last evening in Allen Street Church. Those who heard him, speak well of his effort. It lacked energy somewhat, but abounded in mild and beautiful expressions, well received from the sweet tones of pious sentiment that breathed throughout. Such are the representations given to me this morning. I give this to the readers of the True Wesleyan, respecting Dr. Capers, that they may know that all slaveholders are not men of sour manners and forbidding aspect. Would that it were so, then would the crying evil be speedily destroyed.

MORNING. Being absent, I can only report by hearsay. Bishop Hedding presided. The Bishop's address was not commenced until 2f-

ter 10 o'clock. All the travelling preachers were admitted to hear it. On motion to allow the local preachers to remain and hear it, 50 voted in favor and 80 against. They did not seem to relish this exclusion very well. But there was nothing, I am told, in the address that would seem to require closed doors; and as it was ordered to be published forthwith, we can all soon read and understand. I will forward a copy soon as issued. The various portions were referred to appropriate committees.

I neglected to say yesterday, that all the Bishops were present. They are JOSHUA SOULE, ELIJAH HEDDING, JAMES O. ANDREW, BEVERLY WAUGH, THOMAS A. MORRIS.

The report of Bishop Andrew having married a slaveholding lady is correct. But that he is a slaveholder, may not be confidently asserted now, for it is probable that the possession of them is enjoyed solely by his lady. I am credibly informed that the slave property is entailed upon the heirs, by their father, her first husband. She holds them, it is said, as their guardian, without any absolute control over the question of their liberty or bondage. But if he is a slaveholder, it is impossible to show that any criminality is involved, while the right to hold a slave under any circumstances is justified by the golden rule; and such is the doctrine of the Church, I believe. Now, this may be one of the justifiable cases. I don't see why not. There is more sensation among certain men in this region, about his connection with slavery, than there is reason for. Indeed, if it is as first reported, it may be one means conducive to quiet and conciliation; for the South need not then be so tenacious for the election of a slaveholding Bishop, for they will in that case have one without the excitement and risk consequent upon such an experiment. And the north can rejoice in the fact, that a slaveholder has not been elected to that office; though the joy may be mingled with sorrow unfeigned, by a great many.

EVENING. This evening H. Slicer preached in the Forsyth Street Church. Subject: The character and privileges of the good man. Text: Ps. xci. 14, 15. His style is unique. With an easy flow of language — apposite quotations, scriptural and classic, he associates an earnest and adrupt manner, accompanying his expressions with suitable gestures, that are always in place and seldom over-wrought. It reminded me of the days of my boyhood in my native place, Baltimore, from whence he came. It was Southern in every respect. Warm, clear, forcible, right ahead. Give me the Southern style if I am to hear, or a Southern heart if I am to preach. It's none of your abstract, critical, metaphysical, wire-drawn, go-to-sleep-quick sort of operations. But it's

here's-at-them, right-and-left, storm-the-citadel, take-it-by-force process. But I presume your readers will think that's enough of the sort. So I yield on this point.

Friday, May 3.

7 O'CLOCK, A. M. I learn the following additional items of yesterday's proceedings:—

John Early, of Va., from the Committee appointed yesterday, presented a resolution to the effect that the editors of the several official Methodist papers, together with those of Zion's Herald and the Northern Advocate, be a committee to employ a Reporter, fix his compensation, and revise his report of the proceedings of the Conference for publication. The resolution was adopted, and Mr. R. A. West was appointed official Reporter.

Rev. John Reyson and Rev. Anson Green, Representatives of the Canada Methodist Church, having arrived, came within the altar and were formally introduced to the Conference by Bishop Hedding. Rev. Egerton Reyson, another Representative appointed by the same body was not present.

Dr. Bangs offered to present a letter from the Delegates appointed by the Methodist Episcopal Church of [Upper] Canada, and also an address from the Wesleyan body in England, but after some discussion, the Conference decided to postpone these matters for the present.

On motion of L. Bangs, the Presiding Elders of New York, Long Island and Newark Districts were constituted a Committee to take charge of the appointments for preaching during the session of the Conference.

The following Standing Committees were appointed, the first four consisting of one member from each Conference, nominated by the delegates:

1. ON EPISCOPACY. R. Paine, J. T. Mitchell, P. P. Sanford, F. Upham, P. Crandall, M. Hill, E. Scott, T. Spicer, G. Baker, E. Bowen, S. Luckey, J. J. Steadman, John Spencer, J. B. Finley, J. H. Power, Geo. Smith, A. Eddy, B. T. Crouch, J. Stamper, Wm. W. Redman, T. Stringfield, G. W. D. Harris, J. C. Parker, John Clark, Wm. Winans, J. Boring, Wm. J. Parks, J. Dunwody, James Jamieson, J. Early, A. Griffith, H. White, I. Winner.

2. ON ITINERANCY. J. B. McFerrin, C. Adams, M. Richardson, J.

Lovejoy, H. Nickerson, Wm. D. Cass, J. Covel, Jr., A. Adams, J. M. Snyder, G. Fillmore, G. W. Clarke, Wm. Hunter, Z. Connell, Ed. Thompson, Elijah Crane, James Havens. H. W. Reed, J. Van Cleve, Wm. Patton, Ed. Stevenson, E. F. Sevier, S. S. Moody, W. P. Ratcliffe, Littleton Fowler, J. Lane, Wm. Murrah, J. E. Evans, W. M. Weightman, Peter Doub, J. S. Porter, W. A. Smith, John Davis, I. T. Cooper.

3. ON BOUNDARIES. P. Rice, L. Scott, S. Benton, G. Pickering, E. Robinson, S. Kelly, J. M. Weaver, W. W. Ninde, D. A. Shepherd, J. B. Alverson, J. Bain, J. Drummond, C. Elliott, A. Poe, J. A. Baughman, J. Miller, B. Weed, Peter Cartwright, J. M. Jamieson, W. Gunn, S. Patton, T. Madden, W. McMahon, John C. Parker, Littleton Fowler, Green M. Rogers, Greenbury Garrett, J. W. Glenn, Charles Betts, H. G. Leigh, Thomas Crowder, H. Slicer, Thomas Neall.

4. ON MISSIONS. N. Bangs, J. A. Collins, Abel Stevens, D. S. King, Geo. Webber, J. Spaulding, J. T. Peck, A. D. Peck, N. Rounds, A. Abell, T. Goodwin, Robert Boyd, Joseph M. Trimble, Elmore Yocum, Alvin Billings, Edward R. Ames, J. Sinclair, Newton G. Berryman, Jerome C. Berryman, H. H. Kavanaugh, Thos. Stringfield, A. L. P. Green, Thomas Joyner, A. Hunter, J. Clark, B. M. Drake, J. Hamilton, L. Pierce, W. Chapers, J. Jameson, L. M. Lee, J. T. Thompson, J. R. Shaw.

5. ON THE BOOK CONCERN. William Winans, Alfred Griffith, John B. Stratton, Thos. Crowder, Wm. H. Raper, Elias Bowen, Calvin W. Rutter, Charles Betts, George Webber

6. ON EDUCATION. H. B. Bacom, John Early, Robert Paine, John P. Durbin, Charles Elliott, P. Akres, Stephen Olin, Mathew Simpson, A. B. Longstreet, Homer J. Clark, Charles Adams, S. Seager, J. T. Peck.

7. ON THE EXPENSE OF DELEGATES. Charles B. Tippet, Chas. D. Cahoon William Patton.

8. ON TEMPERANCE. Henry Slicer, Marvin Richardson, Zachariah Connell, Phineas Crandall, Wm. Murrah, Nelson Rounds, Wm. Runnells.

9. ON SUNDAY SCHOOLS AND TRACTS. Fitch Reed, Alex. L. P. Green, Leonidas L. Hamline, Geo. W. Brush, John S. Porter, James E. Evans, John Hobart.

10. ON THE BIBLE CAUSE. Lodick Pierce, Samuel Lucky, Jared Perkins, Levi Scott, G. W. D. Harris, John H. Power, Edmund W. Schon.

Rev. Abel Stevens, of the Providence Conference, was admitted to a seat in the General Conference, in place of Rev. P. Townsend, who is not, and may not be here.

Conference opened with the usual services. Rev. J. B. Finley, of Ohio, led in the devotional exercises. Rev. Messrs. Wright and Swanzy, of the Cincinnati Book Room, Pitman, Missionary Sect., and Bond and Cole, of the Advocate and Journal, were allowed seats, and to participate in the discussions that referred to the subjects in which they were specially interested.

The New York Book Room Committee reported. The whole capitol invested is \$692,468,22. Debts due the concern \$429,000, including \$42,000 due the Advocate and Journal. They express a desire that all the productions of the gifted sons of the church should be issued from the denominational concern, instead of being sent forth, as in many instances is now the case, from other publishing establishments. The report was referred to the appropriate committee.

Order of the day being petitions, memorials and appeals,—they were called for.

ANTI-SLAVERY PETITIONS PRESENTED.

PROVIDENCE CONFERENCE.—By F. Upham. A memoiral from the Conference. Upham called for its reading—read by the secretary.

A good deal of interest was manifested at this stage of the proceedings. Some pleasantly indulged in, and some smiles that did not look very cheerful.

Secretary. Is this from the Conference?

Upham. Yes sir, from the Conference.

The secretary proceeded to read, while a very respectful attention was every where given. It was an able document, well read.

Slicer. Is it necessary for the whole document to be read? All our time will be taken up in reading, if all are read. I have a memorial that will take the secretary more than an hour to read.

A Southern brother hoped it would be read to the end of the chapter!

Upham. I hope it will all be read.

Crowder. I hope so too, for we shall probably know from this all that is contained in every other of like character.

Drake, of Mississippi, hoped that whatever disposition might be made of other documents, every memorial from an annual conference would be read entire!

Slicer had moved to lay it on the table, but kindly withdrew his motion.

The reading proceeded. The document was very able, and presented the whole anti-slavery cause distinctly to view, and laid much stress up-

on the fact that in the Roman Empire the destruction of slavery and overthrow of idolatry were coeval events; arguing thence, that slavery is an institution of heathenism, and a concomitant of idolatry.

It referred to the advocacy of slavery by some with impunity, while others who have opposed it are grieved at their treatment, being of an opposite character. The bad influence of the system of slavery, in the interests of the Northern church, especially in the hands of the recent seceders, was made a prominent ground of complaint. The seceders were charged with attempting to subvert the economy and destroy the edifice that they once labored to build, &c. &c.

The memorialists distinctly disclaimed insisting upon the sentiment, that every slaveholder is necessarily a sinner and ought to execute a deed of emancipation regardless of circumstances. But they would have every slaveholder in the church held responsible to the utmost extent of their power, over the laws perpetuating slavery. And where there are no laws forbidding it, they would hold them under obligation to emancipate immediately!

It closed with resolutions against slavery—the Baltimore resolution of 1840, the election of a slaveholding Bishop, and a hope expressed, that the church would be speedily freed from her connection with slavery, and stand out before the world fair as the moon, bright as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners!

When the reading was finished J. A. Collins, of Baltimore, rose and moved its reference to a committee of one from each annual conference, to be called the committee on slavery, to whom all such memorials should be referred.

Cass, of New-Hampshire Conference, moved to amend by having several delegates nominated. This was admitted. Carried.

Dr. Capers felt mortified, as a Methodist preacher, that such a document should come from an annual conference. He wished it was a more respectable document. He seemed astonished that brethren should, from time to time, send up documents to this body, which seemed to say we are pro-slavery, “and loved the system for the system’s sake.” And the General Conference had acted as if it were appropriate for them to act on the subject embraced. He was glad to hear nothing of a committee on slavery yesterday and the day before, and he must move to lay the motion for such committee on the table. This was seconded.

J. A. Collins explained his reason for moving the committee. The document was highly exceptionable in language and form, but it was

from an annual conference! He regretted the agitation prevalent in certain sections, and thought we should manage to quiet the excitement the best way we can. Refer the matter to a committee. They can report or not, as they see fit. The committee are fast settling down upon the principle, that reception, reference, &c., was attended with the least difficulty.

Dr. Capers again spoke, and referring to that part which spoke of a slaveholding Bishop, disclaimed having any special personal interest in the matter, for, said he, "I am no more a candidate for Bishop than any other slaveholder." He would not, however, be understood as treating disrespectfully the memorialists referred to. But he thought the General conference knew better than any subordinate body, and when an annual conference so far mistake what is right as this has, they do not deserve any special respect, while at the same time, to receive their memorial, hear it read and lay it on the table is respect enough.

J. G. Dow. "I hope brethren will be calm on this subject as on every other. Let this memorial be investigated and reported on." Something further was said by him, of the gentlemanly manner of brethren thus far, on the other side, with a hope that nothing would interrupt good feeling.

J. Early, of Va. Something is said about treating the memorialists with respect. Respect, sir, does not involve, necessarily, compliance with the request made. So it seems to me. I would recommend that we have presented in order, first all the petitions, memorials &c. to come before us; then, when we know what we have to do, we shall be better prepared to provide the committee that may be necessary. If every one gives rise to discussion as presented, we shall never get through. I moved the appointment of a Committee on slavery in 1836, and again in 1840:—not because the questions involved were not settled, sir, for they have been settled long since, and settled to the satisfaction of the South!] After repeating what he had before said about the course to be pursued, he resumed.] We ask no favors, sir. But if a spirit of compromise and forbearance is not now manifest, it may result as they who now press these subjects upon us do not anticipate. But I have no objection to the appointment of this committee. I would suggest to Dr. Capers the propriety of yielding his objections to receiving the memorial, and referring it.

Dr. Capers explained, that he did not oppose receiving the memorial. We have received it, and treated it respectfully, though it be laid on the table.

Here Br. D. S. King, of Boston, rose to speak in reply to Dr. Capers. Bishop Andrew. "I think the debate is out of order."

P. Crandall. "I don't understand the motion. Is it to lay the memorial on the table, or the motion for a committee on slavery?"

Bishop Andrew. "The motion is referred to." [But the motion to lay on the table had so few votes, that it was declared lost, without taking the other side of the question.]

Dr. Bangs moved a suspension of the order of the day, to provide for a Committee on Slavery.

Bishop A. "One of the same effect is now before us."

Dr. Bangs. "Will Br. Collins withdraw his?"

J. A. Collins. "I can't withdraw." The question was now taken on ordering the appointment of the committee, and carried by an overwhelming majority.

Dr. Bangs here rose and moved a resolution providing for the appointment of a Committee on slavery.

J. A. Collins. "Has not such a vote just been taken?"

Bishop A. "Yes, there has."

P. Cartwright now rose. Every body looks pleased when he rises, and the Bishops involuntarily greet him with a smile, for he always lets fall some pleasantry that chases away the uneasy feelings which creep over them sometimes, in the warmth of debate.

Bishop A. "Br. Cartwright has the floor."

P. Cartwright. "If the brother will only hold still [looking round and smiling at the one who was striving to obtain the floor.] I will let him go on directly. I am always short." To this introduction he added a few admonitory remarks about patience, kindness, and similar good things, and sat down.

The President inquired if there was any motion now before the Conference.

H. Slicer moved that the President appoint the committee ordered on slavery. To this it was remarked by some one. "It is a violation of our rules." He then withdrew his motion.

The Bishop inquired if there were any more memorials from the Providence Conference.

Upham replied, "Yes, sir," and a member came forward with another. J. Lovejoy then presented another, and F. Upham yet another.

The Bishop remarked that it was customary to state the subject, place and signers of memorials and petitions.

Upham. "I thought they did not care about hearing a great deal about it, and therefore I did not trouble them with it."

J. Early, of Va. "We want to hear all about it. It is no trouble to know what we are doing."

F. Upham then presented memorials from Elm Street Church, New Bedford; Fall River; Chatham, signed by 107 members; S. Smithfield; Pawtucket, signed by 126; and Cumberland.

ANTI-SLAVERY PETITIONS PRESENTED.

FROM THE NEW ENGLAND CONFERENCE. From Lowell; N. Brookfield, 75 names; Holliston, 95 names; S. Brookfield, 55 names; St. Paul's station, Lowell, 192 names; Spencer, 26 names.

D. S. King presented a memorial from Chelsea, Mass.

By James Porter. One from Lynn Common, adopted first by the board, and then by the church unanimously and signed by the stewards. Also one on Temperance from the same source. The letter was read. It prayed for a restoration of the 8th section of the Discipline, amended so as to prohibit the use and traffic in spirituous liquors, except by apothecaries and druggists, restricting them to such sales as were necessary for medicinal or scientific purposes.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEMORIAL FROM MAINE CONFERENCE.

E. Robinson presented the memorial from the Maine Conference. Being very short, he wished it read. If there was no objection, the Bishop said it would be. None was made. The Secretary read it. It was comprehensive and pointed.

H. White moved that the reading be dispensed with in every case, except to state the contents, &c.

J. Porter hoped that one of each kind, at least, would be read entire. White agreed to this, but the motion failed.

ANTI-SLAVERY PETITIONS FROM N. H. CONFERENCE.

S. Chamberlain presented various petitions, from eighteen different places, signed in all by 937 names; but he read the names so rapidly and low, that I could not take them down.

J. Perkins presented memorials from N. Carolina and Unity.

S. Kelly presented memorials from the following places, with the number of names attached: Newmarket, 107; Methuen, 71; Poplin, 79; South Newmarket, 147; Portsmouth, 43; E. Salisbury, 48; Greenland, 34; — in all, 529.

W. D. Cass presented memorials as follows: — Dover, 72; Epping, 60; Seabrook, 70; Great Falls, 200; Rochester 117; E. Sanford, 44.

BLACK RIVER CONFERENCE.

One memorial from Victory circuit, on slavery.

PITTSBURGH CONFERENCE MEMORIAL.

By R. Boyd. One praying the reiteration of the sentiment entertained in 1785 on slavery, and against the colored testimony resolution; and praying for the restoration of the rule of 1796 on buying and selling slaves, and making it obligatory on all our people to emancipate gradually, except where the slaves desire to remain. He also presented memorials from Claysville, Grand, Washington, Norwich, Shockton, Cambridge, and McConnelsville, — Sumerville and Camden Circuits. The number of names on all of these was, I believe, twelve or thirteen hundred.

OHIO CONFERENCE.

One from Marietta station, signed by 38 persons, against slavery.

ROCK RIVER CONFERENCE.

John Sinclair presented a memorial from Rock River station, signed by 84, against slavery.

There were several resolutions presented from the Iowa Conference, one of which referred to slavery — but I did not ascertain the particulars — and the same of the Indiana Conference, which, I believe, was a concurrence with what the New York Conference had adopted and sent round to various Conferences. Mr. Murrah responded for the Alabama Conference — “We are content to let well enough alone.”

A memorial was presented by the Texas delegate, on the subject of establishing a book depository in that country. Referred.

When petitions from the Mississippi Conference were called for Mr. Winans said, “We are too well satisfied with Methodism to ask for any change.”

Bishop Soule presented an abstract of a document some one had laid on the table which seemed to be a complaint from Dr. Waller, of Richmond, Va., against some things done by the Virginia Annual Conference, and the course of the editor of the Richmond Christian Advocate.

It gave rise to a spirited discussion on the question of reference. The Virginia delegation contended very strongly and ably against any recognition of it, as an informal document, coming in an unconstitutional manner. On this side of the question, Winans and Dr. Durbin spoke with effect, as also Smith, Early, L. M. Lee, and others. Doct. Bond,

too, by spontaneous consent, addressed the Conference on the constitutional question.

H. Slicer of Baltimore, however, favored the recognition and reference, and managed to nullify the effect of Winans, Durbin and Smith's speeches so effectually, that the several parts of Dr. Waller's memorial were referred to the several committees appropriate.

J. Early, of Va., in opposing, urged the impossibility of meeting the question fully, involved in the complaint, without consuming the time needlessly, which might be better employed, and declared that the reference urged, acknowledged the propriety of doing what we have no right to do. Here he glanced off at the Providence memorial, and went into a tremendous declamation, on the subject of southern feelings and views, in opposition to the abolitionists. He seemed to forget what he commenced about.

W. Winans called him to order, but he thought he was in order, as most men are very apt to.

H. Slicer, in replying, made a slip of the tongue that induced some merriment, from the incongruous associations it presented.

"Sir," said he, "my brother's allusion to the memorial was exceedingly unfortunate, as far as his argument is concerned. The memorial from the Providence plantation (!) has [here several laughed outright, and the speaker pleasantly begged pardon and proceeded:] been referred already, as I think this should be." Aye, though I, if the "plantations" could be heard on this floor—if the wrongs of the peeled and dying slave could be couched in the language of his own tears and groans—if their cries to an avenging God could be echoed within these walls, instead of, being alarmed at the mere bugbear of abolition, which the prejudices of some men here conjure up at their pleasure, they would start at the sight of a fleshless skeleton, consumed and lifeless, because of oppressions and wrong endured in bondage—a shudder at the sound of swelling wrath, threatening to involve a guilty nation and delinquent church in angry judgements.

But I am reporting my own thoughts, instead of their doings, so I resume:

The discussion embraced among other things the question, "Are the children of believers only proper subjects of infant baptism?" During the discussion, H. Slicer expressed his doubts about the rightfulness of previous General Conference action in making baptism essential to membership. And W. A. Smith declared it as his opinion, that the provisions of 1836 and 1840, requiring baptism and a belief in our doctrines essential conditions of membership, as a violation of the restrictive

rules, and unconstitutional. This called up P. P. Sanford, who went into an argument to prove their constitutionality, which occupied all the time, and was succeeded by announcing the appointments for the evening, and the sabbath ensuing.

After the benediction by Bishop Andrew, the Conference adjourned.

Saturday, May 4.

The morning session was opened with the usual religious services, by Henry White, of Philadelphia Conference.

The minutes were read, amended in some small matters. The order of the day was suspended to hear the Address of Wesleyan Connection of England. It was read. No allusion was made to the subject of slavery by name — plead impracticability as an excuse for not sending a delegate. Hoped for a continuance of friendly feeling, spoke of Bishop Soule's visit as exceedingly agreeable, from his "kind spirit," "lively interests," "copious information and able public instructions." Gave a passing compliment to his companion, Thomas B. Sargent. Entered into a full statement of the doctrines peculiar to Methodism, and hinted at the danger of being governed by worldly motives of expediency from fear of difficulty, &c. &c. It uttered very good sentiments, but it struck my mind as having about as much directness in its style as is manifest in ordinary diplomatic correspondence, and no more.

Its reference to a committee of three for publication, with instructions to answer it, was agreed to, as a matter of course, for nobody could feel reproached by it, which is more perhaps than could be said of a previous document from the same source, that shared a different fate.

The committees on revisal and on the publication of a social library were announced. On this P. Crandall called for the committee that had been ordered on slavery.

Bishop Waugh. "It can be announced at the proper time, in regular order."

Some remarks were now made about preventing the disturbance occasioned by vehicles passing the street, which gave occasion for some pleasantry between members on the subject of loud speaking.

Dr. Bangs proposed announcing the committee on slavery, and named George Peck.

Dr. Capers did not suppose that the General Conference had given Dr. Bangs any instructions to do what they were unprepared for now.

P. Crandall hoped for the immediate appointment of the committee on slavery, But others said that some of the delegates had not met, and were not prepared. Hence it was waived.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS ON SLAVERY.

A lengthy though uninteresting discussion took place on the disposition to be made of communications sealed, addressed to the General Conference, which resulted in a vote that they be placed in the President's hands, and a brief of their extracts be made by him to the Conference.

Memorials were presented as follows:—From Philadelphia, one against the colored testimony resolution—52 signers. From the Troy Conference, by T. Spicer, several on slavery. The Conference action on the same subject, being 37 to 37, was presented by another. From the N. H. Conference, by J. G. Dow. From nineteen different places memorials signed by 1547 names.

E. Scott presented memorials from three places, signed in all by 173 names. Also three memorials from the N. H. Conference, which he desired should be read. The Bishop said if no objection is made they can be read.

Br. —, from the South thought unless there was something peculiar in the argument, that they have not yet heard, they ought not to be read. He had no sensitiveness, however, about it. Another thought they ought to be read, being annual conference documents. Some one moved to dispense with the reading.

S. Kelly. They are short and respectful. Better hear them.

E. Robinson. They might have been most all read by this time. We will consume more time than it would require to read five times as many.

H. Slicer thought the courtesy already extended on this matter should secure the reading of the New Hampshire memorial. If it is too long or disrespectful we can cut short the reading of it. Hoped it would be read.

T. Crowder, of Va., disclaimed any desire to occupy the time of the Conference, but expressed a hope that the motion to dispense with the reading would prevail. "There are other reasons than those named by our brethren. These memorials are on a subject of controversy between the North and South. If the discussion be entered upon, there should be an open field and fair play for both. But these memorials contain the arguments on one side of the question, while it would be out of order for us to reply to them by presenting our views. We have no chance

to answer them. The fact of their reading being announced to the public, without the fact of opposing views uttered at the same time, will make an impression altogether favorable to them and unfavorable to us."

The question was taken, and lost by a large vote; so the memorial was read.

The memorial urged, in a very respectful, though decided and earnest manner, that some clearly-defined position would be assumed by the General Conference on the subject of slavery, alleging, as their solemn conviction, that if something was not done, in advance of the past action of this body, and to rescind the injurious acts of its last session, great mischief to the church would follow. The memorial referred to the seceding brethren who had gone off recently. Of course they were complained of, but the apprehension was expressed, that in the event of nothing of moment being accomplished by the Conference, the small rivulet toward which the turbid waters of secession are now drawing off, will become a mighty river, resistless and overwhelming in its course." [That's eloquence, illustrative and unexceptionable.]

W. A. Smith, of Va., moved a resolution to instruct the Committee on Slavery. After some conversation he waived his motion, being out of order.

Two other memorials were then read from the N. H. Conference. One was on the connexion of the missionary cause with slavery, remonstrating against employing slaveholders as missionary secretaries or missionaries. The other on the colored testimony resolution. I should judge that these three documents were from the pen of Elihu Scott, of N. H. Without even excepting his allusion to seceders, these documents are a credit to his head and heart.

W. D. Cass, of N. H., presented an anti-slavery memorial from members of the church.

P. Crandall presented two from Worthen Street Church, signed by 34, and from ———, 38 names.

J. Porter presented one from the church at Lynn, Wood End, — and one from Gloucester signed by 100, 14 of whom were probationers.

C. Adams presented memorials, with number of signers as follows: from ———, 29; Greenwich, 36; Belchertown, 76; Ludlow, 26; Athol and ———, 34; S. Wilbraham, 25; N. Wilbraham, 90; Springfield, 95 names; and one signed by 35 students of the Wesleyan University, and all members of the M. E. Church.

From the city of Pittsburgh, (I believe) memorials against slavery, "black resolution," and asking for a definition of the rule of slavery,

signed by 46, 41, and 45 names. The action of the Conference on Temperance and Slavery was announced, concurring with N. Y. Conference resolutions.

E. Robinson, of Me., presented eight memorials, places and signatures as follows: ———, 50; Prospect Circuit, 22; Penobscot Circuit, 32; Exeter Quarterly Conference, Montville, 60; Exeter 120; Bowdoinham, 36. Another was presented, (didn't hear what.)

D. B. Randall, of Me., presented memorials from ———, 150; Augusta, 100; Industry, 31.

On the same subject, one from within the bounds of the Erie Conference, signed by 81 persons. One from within the bounds Black River Conference, asking that the sense in which slavery is declared an "evil" by the Discipline may be defined, — 23 names to it.

Silas Comfort, of Oneida Conference, presented one against the colored testimony resolution. Nothing could be more appropriate than this, as he was the man whose appeal from a Southern Conference, in 1840, gave occasion to the adoption of the resolution which has caused so much excitement.

The resolution of the Genessee Conference against the colored testimony resolution was presented. Also one from Cincinnati, against slavery, presented by J. B. Finley, and the Ohio Conference, resolution on altering the rule on slavery, I believe, as proposed by the N. Y. Conference.

Appeals were now called for.

The appeal of Francis A. Harding, from the decision of the Baltimore Annual Conference, by which he had been suspended from the ministry, was presented — made the order of the day for Tuesday next, at 10 o'clock. The cause of suspension was not stated. Another appeal, from a Br. ——— Frazee, who had been located, was presented, to be taken up when the other was disposed of.

Dr. Bangs obtained leave to present an address from the Methodist Episcopal Church in Upper Canada. They represented themselves as numbering 8880 members, having increased about 1300 during the past year. Their work is divided into two Conferences, four districts, and thirty seven circuits and stations. It was moved that the delegates from the Canada M. E. Church be invited to take seats in the Conference, but gave place to a motion to lay on the table, to be taken up Monday morning next, immediately after reading the journals. This was done at the suggestion of A. D. Peck, in view of hearing from the brethren of the Canada Wesleyan Methodist Church now present, who might have something to say touching this matter.

P. Crandall moved an extension of the time to nominate a committee on slavery.

J. A. Collins objected, as some of the delegations were not ready,—Baltimore was not.

P. Crandall was assured by one of their number that they were. A few words passed between several members, and the motion to suspend prevailed.

The committee was then announced by the different delegations, beginning with New York and proceeding in the order in which they stand on the general minutes.

COMMITTEE ON SLAVERY. — Geo. Peck, Abel Stevens, Jas. Porter, E. Robinson, C. D. Cahoon, T. Seymour, A. D. Peck, Silas Comfort, A. Steel, J. J. Steadman, J. Wakefield, J. Ferree, E. Thompson, E. Crane, A. Wiley, J. T. Mitchell, Peter Cartwright, W. Patten, Wm. Gunn, T. Stringfield, A. S. P. Green, Wm. McMahon, Wm. P. Ratcliff, L. Fowler, G. M. Rogers, Dr. J. Boring, — Pierce, H. A. C. Walker, P. Daub, Wm. A. Smith, Geo. Hilt, Wm. Cooper, Thomas Sovereign.

Conference adjourned.

Monday, May 6.

Religious services as usual began the session, Rev. Thos. Neal of N. J., led in the exercises.

After reading, correcting and approving the minutes, the resolution inviting the delegates from the M. E. Church of Canada to take seats was called up.

A. D. Peck inquired for the General Conference journals of 1836, to see the action then had on this matter.

Dr. Bangs then gave his reasons for the motion, arguing that their organization was nearer assimilated to that of the M. E. Church in this country, than was the Wesleyans of Canada, whose representatives had been recognized by the General Conference; and the Wesleyans of Canada had abolished Episcopacy, and recognized but one order in the ministry. He thought it would be perfectly consistent to recognize any evangelical body of christians who would send delegates to this General Conference.

Dr. Luckey accorded perfectly with Dr. Bangs' remarks, "unless, indeed, this body of Methodists claim to be the legitimate M. E. Church, with a view of supplanting those whom we have recognized." Its refer-

ence to a committee was moved. Many were in favor of entering at once upon the matter, in open conference, for various reasons given.

A. Griffith said, "In 1836, being one of the committee on this same subject, I know that we did not act on it, because of a capital defect in their organization, and contention and strife among the churches in Canada; and we thought we could not until they had gone home and settled their difficulties among themselves."

J. B. McFerrin made some remarks about the three denominations of Methodists in Canada, which seemed to imply that the same relation was sustained by those the Conference had recognized, and those now asking to be received.

Mr. Ryerson arose and stated that such was not the fact. The relation of the body he represented to the English Wesleyans, was acknowledged by them to be a fraternal one. And he had letters from leading men in the British Connection, requesting them to send delegates to their Conference.

He gave a history of the ground on which their connection was dissolved, as referring wholly to some local matters. He said that if this body was recognized here, the English Wesleyans would be as much surprised as if the Ranters or Bible Christians were to be admitted to this body by delegates.

Respecting the relation of Mr. Ryerson and his brethren to the English Wesleyans, Bishop Soule added his testimony to the correctness of Ryerson's remarks. The subject was referred.

J. Early, of Virginia, called attention to an error in the official report of last week. It made him to say, with reference to Dr. Waller's memorial, that "if the allegations in this memorial be regarded as true by this Conference, the South would swing off in a body, and if the questions therein referred to were not settled, that our members would go off by thousands." He made that remark about the memorial from Providence Conference, and not as here reported—although it was while speaking on Dr. Waller's motion he "referred to the Providence memorial [plantation, as one had called it,] in illustration of his position."

F. Upham, who stood by his side, spoke up in a decided manner, and with a tone of manly indignation at the slight thus manifested. "I hope that when the Providence Conference is referred to it will be called by its proper name."

"Amen!" shouted a warm-hearted New Englander.

J. Early said he spoke it in kindness, and meant nothing disrespectful.

Doct. Bond thought that the committee of supervision could set that right, without Conference action.

H. Slicer, of Baltimore, here rose and called attention to the report which put in his mouth a charge against the Conference of infidel sentiment, in these words: "The action of the Conferences of 1836 and 1840 is directly in the teeth of the whole Bible." I said, "In the teeth of the argument on this floor!"

"The reporter whom we have employed has also gone out his way in the Commercial Advertiser, to make an attack on me, by saying that I am in the habit of violating the rules. I have no acquaintance with the gentleman, but I have some acquaintance with the laws of deliberative bodies, and believe that I conform myself to them. Other gentlemen spoke several times in violation of the rule, but he alluded to none of them, but makes a fling at me alone. It is possible he may have a prompter; if so, he may divide my remarks between himself and his prompter."

A request was made for the reporter to explain. When about taking the vote, several voices were heard protesting against submitting the question at all, and it was not taken.

J. Perkins thought they had other work to do that claimed their attention, than to contend with reporters. Let brethren mind their own business and go right on.

H. Slicer, with all deference, though otherwise.

J. B. McFerren said we have only to do with the committee of the Conference, and nothing at all to do with the reporter of a political paper.

H. Slicer had nothing to say about the reporter of a political paper, but the reporter whom we have employed. He may make a literal report, if he pleases, of all I say here. But if he comments sarcastically, he ought to be held responsible to correct wrong impressions.

Doct. Bond said the reporter of the Commercial was not known to this body. Somebody asserted that H. Slicer did not know certainly who the reporter of the Commercial was. To this Slicer responded, "Br. Lane told me it was the same person who reported for the Conference."

A Southern member remarked that ordinary cases of error in reports might be corrected by suggestion to the committee of supervision. But in this case that was not sufficient. If the reporter employed by this body chooses to write for other papers and reflect upon members on this floor, against whom he may be prejudiced, he can do it certainly, and we have a right to suggest the employment of another reporter. But I do not deny the right of any reporter taking notes of our doings, and reporting and publishing his views of our proceedings.

Several men called for the order of the day. Amid some confusion, Wm. Cooper moved to instruct the committee of supervision to supply another reporter. Some one of the Southern members, in rather an authoritative tone, declared his motion out of order, and seemed disposed to crowd him off. With some good degree of energy, Mr. Cooper said, "If I am out of order let the chair say so."

Bishop Morris. "You are not in order."

W. Cooper looked round towards those who wanted to put him down beforehand, and remarked, "when you tell me I am out of order I sit down willingly, but I take my seat for no other man on this floor."

J. G. Dow moved to suspend the order of the day to offer the brethren an opportunity to be indemnified for the misrepresentation they had had inflicted upon them.

J. A. Collins disapproved the remark as much as any one on the floor. It was out of place, improper and disrespectful. But it was a slight remark, and he hoped that they would have more regard to the dignity of this body, than to proceed gravely to any formal action upon so trivial an affair. He repeated, in the most earnest manner, "In the name of the dignity of this highest judiciary of the church, I hope that we will not proceed to act against a man who has no voice on this floor."

Doct. Bond here rose to say that the reporter regretted the remark, and would not be guilty of the like offence again.

H. Slicer then remarked, that he would not have voted for the motion providing for another reporter, as he felt assured the gentleman would not repeat the offence.

On motion, it was voted that Rev. E. S. James be invited to take a seat and participate in all discussions relative to the Bible cause. Mr. James is secretary of the American Bible Society.

The report of the Book Agents was then presented by P. P. Sandford, and read by the Secretary. I noted only a few items. The subscription list of the N. Y. Advocate and Journal is no larger than it was four years ago. [I thought that the more than one hundred thousand members added last year had been of little advantage to this department of the Great Concern.] Their S. S. Advocate has 9000 subscribers. The profits of the last year's business was \$44,000. Amount appropriated to meet the table expences, &c., of the Bishops, for four years past, \$13,900. Sum appropriated towards Bishop Soule's expenses to Europe, \$1701. The report complained of great losses from bad debts, and serious embarrassments from the discount upon southern and western moneys.

Various reports followed this, of no interest to the general reader, that I omit naming.

Memorials were presented as follows. One by a member of the Providence Conference, recommending the propriety of distributing the Conference funds to those who were most needy. One from Maine, on slavery. J. Perkins, of N. H., presented several — from Winchester, Kittsdale, Gilford, Putney, Wethersfield, N. Windsor, and Wilmington. S. Kelly, of N. H., presented three, on the same subject. [During this, I observed W. A. Smith giving particular attention, and wondered what interested him so greatly.] These last named were from Durham, Newmarket and South Newmarket, and were signed by the official members, and nearly all the others.

W. A. Smith now spoke. "I would ask those brethren if they have any further memorials on this subject. I have observed these same brethren on every day submitting memorials when their conference is called. And they seem desirous of occupying a part of the time in this way, each day."

J. Perkins replied, "We are receiving them every day, and cannot say whether we shall have any more or not."

J. B. Houghtaling presented a memorial from Exter circuit, Troy Conference, praying that all slaveholders in the Church may be obliged to have their slaves taught to read, and give them the fullest religious privileges.

A memorial was presented from New York Mills station, signed by the official members, on slavery. Also the vote of the Onedia Conference, in favor of requiring emancipation in certain States. The vote of the Onedia Conference was reported to be 57 for, 39 against. Also in favor of rescinding the Colored Testimony resolution, and altering the General Rule on Slavery.

From N. O. Conference a memorial was forwarded, signed by a number of travelling preachers, praying a modification of the rule on allowing members of other churches to partake of the Lord's Supper.

An appeal by J. S. Lenn from the action of the Genesee Conference locating him, was presented. Laid on the table for the present.

Two quarterly conferences in Kentucky sent in a memorial on the subject of ministerial support. Referred to a committee of seven.

From the Holstein Conference some papers were presented on slavery. J. Perkins inquired if it was a memorial. The person presenting them replied, "No, sir. We might have obtained a memorial, however, if we wished it." These papers were votes of non-concurrence with the anti-slavery resolutions of the New York and Genesee Conferences;

but concurrence with the vote of the N. Y. Conference to restore Mr. Wesley's rule on temperance. It was stated that the committee recommended non-concurrence in this also; but the conference acted otherwise.

Another memorial was presented from the same region, praying that it be provided, that a P. Elder may appeal the case of a local preacher to the annual conference, who in his judgement may have been unjustly acquitted.

J. B. McFerrin presented the votes of the Tennessee Conference on various matters. They refused to concur in the New York and Genesee Conference anti-slavery resolutions, by a unanimous vote.

On the Temperance question, they stood 76 against, and one in favor of Mr. Wesley's rule.

At this moment the boy came in with a huge bundle of Extras, having the proceedings printed on. Instantly all was confusion, and rushing toward the altar, where they lay. To prevent the interruption thus occasioned, Doctor Bond gathered them up, and retreated to a distant part of the house, followed by some of the members, pell mell.

Dr. Luckey, addressing the chair, proposed adjourning, if the members intended to occupy themselves reading the minutes.

The Virginia Conference votes, non-concurring on the subject of slavery and the temperance rule, were now reported by J. Early.

What with the reading and rustling of newspapers, and the slamming of doors by persons going out, there seemed more than usual confusion, and one member suggested the possibility of being compelled to sit with closed doors. But little attention was paid to it, however very much to the satisfaction of your reporter, whose presence, by the way, is the occasion of some little interest to a few, who look at and point out to others the locality of the Wesleyan reporter.

A. Wiley, of Ia. moved that it be regarded by this Conference as an interruption of its business, to distribute papers, &c., during the session. Dr. Luckey thought it might be prevented without a formal vote, — as it had no second, it received the go-by.

Dr. Bangs and W. A. Smith offered a resolution, authorizing the payment of all expense of postage incurred by the members during this Conference. J. B. Finley moved to lay it on the table, and it was withdrawn.

W. A. Smith and L. Pierce then offered a resolution, instructing the Committee on Slavery to reply directly to the positions assumed, arguments advanced, and facts alleged in the memorials before them. Wm. A. Smith spoke.

"We have, sir, since 1836, been flooded with memorials on the subject of slavery, from the annual and quarterly conferences, in the Eastern, Northern, and North Western (in some instances) parts of our Church, as also from individual memorials of the private membership. The simple fact of memorials being presented on this subject is of trivial importance, in itself considered, for it only shows the active interests of the ministers who present the memorials. It is no indication of the views and feelings of the body of the people.

"I have come to the knowledge of a fact lately, bearing upon this point, that deserves to be known. One of our brethren, a minister from the South-west recently visited the North, and spent some time. The ministers of our Church would not open their pulpits to him, alleging as a reason for not inviting him to preach, that the prejudices of the community were so strong against a slaveholding minister, that it would not be tolerated. Nor would these ministers come and hear him preach in the pulpit which was opened to him. Finally, the members over whom these very ministers had charge, demanded that he be allowed to preach and by their importunity obtained for this slaveholding brother a hearing, and he was favored with crowded audiences, as long as he remained there.

"I repeat it—we know only what Methodist ministers think and feel from these memorials. They lead on the people in this matter, who, but for them, would not trouble us on this subject.

"A case in point occurred with us, showing this fact. A number of quarterly conferences memorialized on a given subject. And it was ascertained that it was the result of a Presiding Elder's influence, who presented the matter at each of his appointments, and obtained a sufficient demonstration to answer his purpose. This was an expression of his wishes only, though expressed by memorials from a number of quarterly conferences. Why, sir, signers may be obtained to any thing, if you will take the trouble to solicit them. To illustrate this, I will give an anecdote. In the city of Albany, while conversing on this subject, a person alleged that he could obtain 500 signers to a petition to hang a reputable minister of the Gospel! A stake of \$50 was deposited in experiment,—and in a few days they were actually obtained.

"I am sorry, sir, to know that some of these memorials are so rabid on this question. But it is a source of congratulation to know, at the same time, that they show the interest of those mainly who present them, and but few others. We could have brought up memorials here from our people, sir, on this question, if we desired to do it, in any

quantity! — filled with insulting epithets and degrading remarks, calculated to wound the feelings of our Northern brethren. But we scorn to stoop to such a contemptible mode of action. They have doubtless a design, and an effect in view.

“Well, sir, what has been the custom respecting these memorials? The action had in every case avoided the issue. Every report made has been occupied in settling differences of opinion between the ultra-abolitionists and the anti-slavery men. While the true issue, that between the South and the memorialists, has been avoided.

“On this subject there are three parties. The ultra-abolitionists at the North and East, the anti-slavery men of the Middle States, and what is called the pro-slavery party at the South. The anti-slavery men assume to stand between, as conservatives. They ask to be chairman, and want to manage the whole subject. And they have managed it, as I have stated already. I am sorry to know that a few have been quieted by such stuff. But I never have, and I never will.

“These conservatives, sir, are like the two-wheeled cabs in your city, when the horse is taken out they always drop down on one side!

“Well, what has been the operation of these reports which have continually staved off the true issue of this question. Why, sir, from time to time they have been dosing us with still stronger portions of these offensive prescriptions. General Conference after General Conference, they come pouring in upon us. They are read, referred, and the questions at issue still are dodged. In this way, we are continually plied with arguments on their side of the question, lengthened out and listened to with attention and respect. And when attempts have been made to reply, what effect has been produced? I can recollect but one solitary instance in which a patient hearing has been given us, and that was given to Dr. Capers at our last General Conference.

“The rules have been suspended time and again, to afford us the opportunity to hear torrents of abuse poured upon us. But when remarks were offered on the other side, the cry has been heard over and over again, ‘Your fifteen minutes are out.’ In this way the South has been clogged continually. By the scheming of these conservatives, the South has never been heard fully in their defence, nor have they through you been heard by the country on this question. What we want now is that the question be met fully and fairly.

“These memorials contain violent attacks upon our Southern Missionary Secretary, because he is a slaveholder. Let them look this straight in the face. They also contain unwarranted and violent attacks upon Bishop Andrew for the same reason. [NOTE. — The memorials do not

mention either Dr. Capers or Bishop Andrew. They only remonstrate against electing to the office of Missionary Secretary or Bishop any one who is a slaveholder. If this remonstrance is 'an unwarrantable and violent attack upon Bishop Andrew,' he must be a slaveholder,—and my previous remarks on his relation to those slaves are erroneous. I regret this fact as a Christian minister.]

W. A. Smith continued. "Now, sir, we no longer wish to be afflicted and reproached in this manner. And we cannot with propriety consent to be trifled with any longer, as we have been in the action of the Conference. If you are against us, say so; as honest men. Act straightforward in this matter. And though you disagree with us, we will love you the better for being candid. But you may rest satisfied that we cannot be trifled with any longer. True; I only utter my views, yet I think this is the sentiment of all our southern brethren.

"The brother from Baltimore who moved the appointment of this committee on slavery, did it in such a way as to imply that this was a convenient way to get rid of the whole matter."

J. A. Collins. "The matter was not so presented by me. When the matter comes up I'll be to the mark."

W. A. Smith. "I have no doubt that the brother from Baltimore will be found up to the mark,—but the printed report of his remarks makes him to say, 'The committee can report as they see fit,'—which implies what I have said."

J. A. Collins. "I am not responsible for what this publishes. I do n't care whether they represent me as standing on my head or my heels!"

P. Crandall now spoke. "Mr. President—I agree with the brother from Virginia. [Cries of 'louder,' 'can't hear!'] I'll make you hear," said he, then in a louder tone he proceeded, "I agree with the brother from Virginia, as to the course to be pursued by the committee. All the questions embraced in these memorials ought to be met fairly and squarely. I hope they will be in the form presented in the memorials. That is what we wish, for these memorialists are sincere. I do not agree with that brother as to matter of fact, however. I may be allowed to know as well the relation of the private members of the memorials and the subjects embraced therein as he can, and better too. He is mistaken. The ministers do not take the lead. The ministers do not keep pace with the members in this movement. So tardy, in their opinion, has been the action of the ministry on this question, that some members have left the church, and more will leave, unless they move more vigorously. They are sufficiently abolitionized—the people. It may be oth-

erwise in the West ; but in New England, the mass of the people take the lead.

“He is in error, too, about the Southern men not having been heard on the floor on their side of this question, patiently and fully. I remember that brother Smith himself had such a hearing, and Br. Winans, Br. Crowder and others, and I presume he will not complain that he had such a hearing this morning.”

J. G. Dow. “I must also correct the mistake with reference to New-Hampshire. We are driven up to it by the people — we are pushed on to this subject. I have a private letter now in my possession from the private membership, urging me to present, without fail, the memorial on this subject.”

H. Slicer, of Baltimore. “I claim, sir, to be a conservative. But I differ widely from the member from Virginia, with regard to the one-sided action of the General Conference for the last twelve years. It has not been one-sided. It has been conservative. I hold more, sir ; I hold that this Conference is a conservative body : I hold that the Discipline is conservative. It does not say that slavery is a national and social blessing ! That is the ultra doctrine on the one side ! I don't say that is the doctrine of the brother from Virginia, however, nor does it say that slavery is a sin under all circumstances. And that money in any way connected with slavery, pollutes what it comes in contact with — and that our missions to the poor colored man of the South — among the aborigines of the West, and upon the shores of Africa, sir, should be abandoned, unless they can be sustained by money free from connection with slave labor. That is the ultra doctrine on the other side ! We claim to stand between these extremes. We deny that the produce of slave labor pollutes whatever it comes in contact with, and that slavery is a sin under every circumstance. We deny, too, that slavery is a national and social blessing. We know that our southern brethren would have difficulties in the way of freeing their slaves. There are incumbrances in the way of emancipation, either immediate or gradual. Slavery is a difficulty, an incumbrance, every where and always. And they are thus incumbered not by their own action solely.

(He here referred to the acknowledged and almost exclusive control that in times past the North had over the slave carrying trade, by which the South became possessed of that which now is an incumbrance to them. He proceeded :)

“There are at the North many splendid mansions and wealthy estates, purchased with the avails of the abominable slave trade, by which men, women and children were stolen from their native land — taken

by violence from the graves of their ancestors — torn away rudely from the hearth-stone of their childhood — and doomed to wretchedness and wo. The North sold, the South bought; that is the only difference between them. The South do not ask that the estates procured by the profits of this horrible traffic of the North be confiscated; they only ask that while Northern men live in the peaceable enjoyment of their share of the gain, that they be allowed to manage their own affairs and let the system work out its own results, under the auspices of a good Providence, associated with the influence of the gospel. And had it not been for the uncalled-for, the unfortunate interference of the North, the very results they aim to accomplish would have been greatly advanced. But I say to those brethren from New England, that their continued agitation has abridged and cut off the privileges of the slave. If the wise counsels of the General Conference of 1836 had been heeded, the issue of this question would have been nearer at hand. The substance of that counsel was, “hands off;” but instead of that it has been AGITATION — AGITATION — AGITATION, producing no benefit to the South, while it actually embarrasses those devoted men, who are laboring in the cotton fields and rice swamps of the South, who are praying for the same thing that you labor to bring about in this mistaken way.

“And now let me say, that if ever we are brought to that period in our history as a church, when under the influence of chafed and excited feelings, which this agitation on the one hand, and the flings at conservatism, to which we have listened this morning, on the other, are well calculated to inspire, — that period, I say, when we must part and dissolve our ecclesiastical connection, the death-knell of the Union is certainly given; for I am well persuaded that no power has more to do with binding the remote parts of our country together, than the itinerancy and general superintendency of the M. E. Church.

“If the brethren of the North wish to petition or speak on this subject, they have an undoubted right to do so. Let them be heard — their memorials referred and acted on as the Conference may be disposed. We must have compromise on this matter. We cannot live without compromise as a denomination. If it had not been for compromise, the States represented in this body could never have been connected.

“For myself, though born, and for the most part educated in a slaveholding State, I never had any connection with slavery. I never mean to have. I never expect to have. To these New England brethren I say, Forbear. The Discipline cannot be altered. The General Rule on Slavery cannot be altered. And I beseech the brethren of the South not to mix up the Temperance question with this matter. But I believe,

that from an apprehension that the proposition to alter the rule on Temperance would be an entering wedge to the question of slavery, and for no other reason, it was voted down all South."

W. D. Cass rose and re-affirmed the necessity of acting as they did, from the feelings of the people. "But if the ministers did take the lead, which was not true, however, it would be a credit to them to be found in the front ranks of this and every other great moral reform. They ought to be opposed to every thing that was opposed to God and religion. And it had not been shown, and could not be shown, that in opposing slavery they were opposing religion. Mr. Wesley says, no man has a right to hold property in another." [He proceeded to discuss the merits of the question, arguing against the right of property in man, when P. Crandall called the attention of the chair to a point of order.]

W. D. Cass said the North had been attacked. He was defending the North, and hoped he would not be interrupted. [Here P. Crandall said, "I hope that I will always be interrupted when not in order." The Bishop decided that it was not in order to discuss the merits of the question on a motion to instruct the committee.]

W. D. Cass. I did not mean to trespass on the rules, I only followed the track of those who took a wide range. But I am no conservative. The Discipline is not conservative, which will be shown in the proper place hereafter."

It was now moved to lay on the table the motion to instruct the committee how to report.

A member of the Conference said he hoped they would instruct the committee, if they thought the committee did not know how to perform the duty assigned them. "I want all here to say out what they have to say, fully, frankly, fairly."

C. Adams. "Mr. President" —

"Let brother Adams be heard," cried some one.

C. Adams. "I do not intend to make a speech. But I think it is due to the abolition brethren who have presented memorials on the floor, to throw back the unpleasant imputation cast upon them. I hope they will throw it back from whence it came. The brother is mistaken, sir; we are pushed on by the people. They have taken the lead in this matter. And I now say, that the imputation that these memorials owe their existence solely to the action and agency of the preachers, ought to be thrown back: and it is thrown back! [The vote was taken to lay on the table the motion to instruct, which would seem to say that those voting for it wished to avoid the issue urged by the South. It was carried by 10 majority — 88 voting for, and 78 voting against it. The abo-

litionists generally voted to lay on the table. Only three, whom I knew, voted to instruct, and thus give the South what they claimed — an issue upon the question. Those were James Porter, Schuyler Chamberlain, and Elihu Scott. After the vote was announced, W. A. Smith said, "That is a confirmation of my doctrine."

After this some uninteresting items of business were transacted, and the Conference adjourned.

Tuesday, May 7.

SLAVERY! — WM. A. SMITH'S SPEECH ON AN APPEAL FROM BALTIMORE CONFERENCE.

After the Conference was opened as usual this morning, and some ordinary topics of interest had occupied their attention a few moments, the order of the day was called up. It was the appeal of Francis A. Harding, from the decision of the Baltimore Annual Conference, by which body he had been suspended from the ministry. The case, as stated from the journals of the Conference, is this. When his name was called in the Annual Conference, as is customary, it was objected to him that he had become connected with slavery by-marriage. A committee was appointed to inquire into the particulars, who reported that he had married a lady, who owned five slaves, viz., Harry, aged 52, Maria, 50, John, 22, Hannah, 13, and Margaret, aged 2 years. The committee reported the following plan of emancipation: John to be free at 28, Hannah at 23, and the issue of the females to be free at the time of their mother's emancipation. Of the two older ones, it was thought that their age was a consideration, in view of which, their bondage would not be a violation of the Discipline. They also required him to give a pledge that he would comply with the instructions of the committee, during the conference year. That part of their report referring to the two older ones, was by vote struck out, and the report was adopted.

F. A. Harding announced the impracticability of compliance.

J. A. Collins moved that he be suspended.

H. Slicer moved its reference to a committee of five to give further opportunity of settling the matter. The committee were Rev. Messrs. Slicer, Davis, Broom, Myers, and Rozell. They reported as having entirely failed in attempting to induce compliance from this brother.

J. A. Collins moved that he be suspended until the next conference

or until he gives information to the Episcopacy of having complied with the instruction before-named. He signified his intention to appeal to the General Conference.

The Bishop read the Discipline, which refers to appeals. Deep and serious attention prevailed, for an important issue was now to be made, involving the whole question of slavery. The Conference voted to admit the appeal of this brother. Wm. A. Smith now rose and appeared for the appellant. In a calm and subdued manner he commenced, —

“Mr. President, — In opening this case, it may be appropriate for me to make some personal allusions to myself. From the position in which I stand in relation to slavery, and the use that has been made of my name in various journals in the North, it may be supposed that I entertain hostile feelings towards those brethren who may have enlisted in the abolition discussion and agitation. But I disavow any such feelings towards them. It is true that my opinions have been made up for years upon the question involved; but my opinions have not been allowed to excite in me unchristian feelings towards any man on this subject. I regard myself as an anti-slavery man. I am opposed to slavery. But I am not an abolitionist in any sense of that term. And in my views and feelings, I differ not with all my Southern brethren in the ministry and out of it. The sense in which I am an anti-slavery man will be explained in my future remarks.

“I do not know but I may be defending an abolitionist. In the principles by which Br. Harding has been actuated, and the course he proposed pursuing, I am not sure that I would agree with him. Indeed, I think he goes as far as any of my brethren from the Eastern or Western conference could or would go in his circumstances. It is not then from sympathy with this brother's views on this subject, that I come before you in his behalf; but from a sense of justice to an injured brother: for I believe honestly, that he has been deeply wronged by the Baltimore Conference.”

[He here recapitulated the particulars of his case, and alleged that the records of the Conference were not so full as required by the Discipline, and he must therefore rely upon the honest memory of the members from Baltimore, whom he requested to correct him if he should mistake any fact in the case.]

The ground of his argument then was stated. 1. Under the laws of the State of Maryland, he was not the owner of a single slave, and of course could not do what the Conference required, as he had no slaves to emancipate. 2. If he had been the possessor of slaves, the laws of the State in which he lived are such as to constitute the holding of them

no violation of the Discipline of our church. Under the first head, he stated that he had pledged before the Conference, in his own name and in the name of his wife, that he would have them removed to Africa or to a free State; and he now says he is ready to do it at any time, with their consent. But he was unwilling to sunder the tenderest ties of our nature, separating parents from children, and husbands from their wives.

Here Br. Griffith, of Baltimore Conference, said he heard no such pledge from Br. Harding, or it would have been satisfactory to him. Br. Gere, of same Conference, being called up, declared that he did hear it distinctly stated by him, more than once or twice.

J. A. Collins said he did not wish to interrupt Br. Smith, but no such pledge reached his ear. I asked him if the consent of the slaves to go to Liberia could be obtained, and he said, No!

J. A. Gere admitted that he said, "with the consent of his wife and the slaves."

H. Slicer. "I had some connection with this case too, and yet have no recollection of anything being said about a free State before the Conference or committee. The whole matter was plac'd upon the issue of their consent, to go to Liberia."

J. A. Collins again remarked, "he placed their freedom to go to Liberia on two ifs: the consent of his wife, and the consent of the slaves."

Another member of the committee in his case, remembered distinctly having labored with him on this point,—and telling him he was not a native of that county—and he could have his appointment in Pennsylvania, where he could do as required by the Conference; "but I have no recollection of his saying anything himself about a free State."

Some of the members here objected to this oral testimony being admitted, as out of order.

Bishop Soule remarked that he only allowed it "at the instance of Br. Smith."

W. A. Smith said. "What redress have we, sir? The Baltimore Conference ought to have recorded all these matters, great and small, and then we should have been able to gather from their records, what we now are receiving orally. But they have not done it!"

J. A. Collins remarked, "There was no trial, no testimony adduced—no witnesses examined. He admitted the fact, giving testimony against himself."

Several threw in remarks, some of whom the President reminded, that as they were not members of the Baltimore Conference, it was more proper, at this stage of the proceedings, that they should not in-

terière; the case was being opened, and Br. Smith now only wanted testimony, which of course it was presumed none had to give, who were not of the conference named.

W. A. Smith here remarked, that he did not know but he was willing to debate the matter with every member on this floor! He certainly had no objection to it.

President. "But I can't admit that."

W. A. Smith. "I suppose not, sir. I now say, the Discipline requires that a correct record be made of the proceeding, in any and every case. [J. A. Collins said, 'That's admitted.'] The Baltimore delegation admit that. There, sticks a peg down there! Now, sir, the testimony of Br. Gere has much to do with this case. Br. Griffith says, 'If he had said so, I should have been satisfied.' Therefore the merits of the case turn upon the circumstances of his refusal to comply with the requirements of the Conference. To know what these were, we rely upon and refer to the journals, and they are silent altogether on this point. Now I ask, who shall suffer on account of the acknowledged imperfection in their records? the appellant, who is thereby embarrassed in coming before you? or the Baltimore Conference, which is clearly in the wrong? This brother is entitled to oral testimony, as from no other source is it possible to obtain what is necessary to the prosecution of this appeal. And now I will refer you again to the oral testimony of Br. Gere. He has a 'distinct recollection'—he 'clearly remembers' that this Br. said, that with the consent of his servants, he stood pledged himself, and would pledge for his wife, that the requisitions of the Conference should be complied with."

Here J. A. Collins asked Br. Gere, "Did he pledge for his wife?"

Br. Gere. "He said, I pledge on my own account, and in behalf of my wife. I may be mistaken, but that is the impression sticking in my mind."

Another remarked, "We were all deeply interested, and would have recollected it, if such a statement had been made. But I do not recollect, nor have I any impressions of such a remark about a free State on my mind."

On this, W. A. Smith remarked, "If twenty brethren do not recollect the statement, and one does, their testimony can avail nothing, in opposition to his. It is not at all surprising to me, sir, that my brother Collins, who was deeply interested in the matter, as the records show, and constituted as he is, which by the way is similar to my own peculiar temperament, (this was said very pleasantly,) I say it is not any wonder he did not hear the remark! These brethren were interested to carry out

their own purposes in this matter, and it is not surprising that they do not recollect now all that was said, although I again repeat, there was one, who did distinctly recollect it. And how many more members of the Baltimore Conference heard the remark, I cannot say. Doubtless, we might have the same testimony from many more of them, if they were here. But I shall assume from the testimony already before you, that he said it."

Now commenced a conversation between one and another, while Mr. Smith, with remarkable patience, submitted to the interruption without the least complaint.

Dr. Bangs thought he ought to confine himself to the record. If the records are deficient, let the records be quashed, and sent back to the Annual Conference. He insisted with much earnestness upon this course.

Mr. Early, of Va., thought that the Baltimore Conference would have the same opportunity to amplify, that Br. Smith was now improving; and there was no cause of complaint. "I assure you, sir, and I assure these brethren, that Br. Smith does not wish to take any advantage of you. So far from seeking any advantage, from what I know of the man, and from what I know of his preaching, he is willing you should have every advantage: and if he cannot beat you with all your advantages over him, he does not wish to beat you at all."

After some further remarks from the President and others, he resumed, "I will now read to you an opinion from Senator Merrick on the questions, Did he own slaves belonging to his wife, and if so, did the laws of the State allow of emancipation? [The opinion of the Senator was clearly in the negative, going to show, that by recent enactments of the Legislature of Maryland, the husband has no control over the property of his wife: and from old statutes was demonstrated the truth of Mr. Smith's assertion, about freeing them on the soil. He then continued:] "But so busily employed were these brethren, in "laboring" with this brother, to use the Quaker expression of one of them, that they seem not to have noticed these legal opinions, any more than they did his pledge to send his slaves to a free state. You will observe, sir, that they were appointed a committee to investigate, and they report about not being able 'to bring him to terms!' and in view of this, a motion was made by J. A. Collins and R. Emory, to suspend him. His appeal from that suspension is now presented before you. I have gone into this brief view of the case now, and will simply present further, at this time, the ground of his appeal. It is this: No rule of Discipline has been violated, express provision being made for such

cases as his; and therefore the decision of the Annual Conference in his case was unauthorized and should be reversed.

"If it be the pleasure of the Conference, that I should now proceed to enter fully into the case, I am ready to do so or, if it be deemed best that the Baltimore delegates now occupy the floor in review of what I have said, allowing me to respond, I am willing for that. I do not wish to forestall anything that may be necessary, to state the case fully and fairly."

J. A. Collins hoped that Br. Smith would proceed at once as just as he chooses to go. "To this we are ready and willing to consent."

The President remarked, "Let it be distinctly understood, that Br. Smith is at liberty to proceed just as far as he thinks proper, with the liberty of responding to the other side, which will close the pleadings in this case."

Br. ——— wished to state a fact that would set the matter right about Br. Harding's pledge. "There were two cases before the Annual Conference. Br. Hunsingburgh's case was one. He did pledge himself to send his slaves to a free State. But I have no recollection of Br. Harding making any such pledge. I think it is probable that Br. Gere in his mind referred Br. Hunsingburgh's remark to Br. Harding's case and this originates the mistake."

"Ah!" said W. A. Smith, "so it must follow, as a matter of course, that because this brother does not recollect it therefore those who do are mistaken! (He now proceeded to argue the question, quoting an opinion given by Judge Keen or King, showing that this brother had no slaves to liberate.) Why, sir, the Conference required him to manumit property that he had not in his possession and never had! Just as consistent would it have been, to have required him to have unhorsed the first Methodist preacher hemet in the road! Or more properly, they might just as well have required him to manumit the slaves of every man in the State! Sir he had as much right to the horse, bridle and saddle bags of his brethren—or to the possession of every slave in Maryland! And I am at a loss to know how, in the name of patience, the Baltimore Conference could justify themselves in their action on this case." [At this point, J. A. Collins, who sat in front of the speaker, looked up pleasantly and said, "We'll show you, by and by." "Well, I am glad to hear it. I shall be happy to hear it now, or at any future time. But to me it is so marvellous, that in contemplating it, my eyes, do ——— [Here I lost the close of the sentence.]

"The second ground of my argument is this:—If the positions assumed, respecting the relation of this brother to those slaves, is doubted,

— though I cannot see how it is possible to doubt or deny them; — yet I say, if doubted, I then argue that the provisions of the Discipline are in his favor, as the laws of Maryland are such as it specifies, in justification of holding slaves under certain circumstances. And I shall show you, presently, that the General Conference have recognized the principle here assumed by me, in this case!" [After reading various extracts from the laws of Maryland to the same effect as before noted, he then remarked:] "If the holding of slaves is justified by the laws of any State in this Union, Maryland is that State! The true issue, then, between this brother and the Baltimore Conference is this. They require him to do what the laws of the State of his birth and residence forbid! He refused to do this, but was willing to make such an arrangement with those slaves as was consistent with the laws of the State. But because he would not go in the very teeth of the laws, this brother was suspended from the ministry, and his ministerial reputation and personal character was perilled, and is now in jeopardy! I ask, sir, will the General Conference countenance this action of theirs,—or will they not rather stand by their brother in this his time of need? [He then referred, in a particular and detailed manner, to the case of certain local preachers resident in Virginia, but within the bounds of the Baltimore Conference, who were refused ordination by said Conference, on account of holding slaves. The report of the committee to whom their appeal to the General Conference of 1840 was referred, was cited to show that the General Conference, by adopting that report, had endorsed the doctrine which he had set forth in this case. This report set forth explicitly, that the holding of slaves in States such as the Discipline pointed out, (section on Slavery,) formed no legal or constitutional objection to election and ordination to any grade of office, in the ministry of our Conference.] Now I ask, in view of the solemn sanction of the General Conference to the principle here set forth, was it to be expected from the Baltimore Conference, that they should renew their unconstitutional action, and trample under foot the decision of the General Conference and Discipline of the Church, by requiring a brother, as in this case before us, to violate the provisions of the Discipline, and his own conscientious feelings? What he proposed to do, I have before stated. What more would humanity ask? And what more could religion sanction, under the circumstances?"

"But I would have you notice particularly one thing in their requirements. They required him to hold two of those slaves in perpetual bondage! I ask the attention of our Eastern and Northern brethren to that. Stick to your principles and professions on this subject, and I ask,

can you sustain the Baltimore Conference in an act of theirs on this question, so much at variance with your views of right? What more could you ask than what he proposed to do?

“Further — The conduct of this brother was perfectly consistent with the spirit of the Discipline. By that I mean, the evident design and tendency of its provisions on slavery. I hold, sir, that the Discipline is conservative on this question. Much has been said about conservatism on this floor. Before I have concluded, I think it will appear more clearly to your minds than now, who the true conservatives are. I hold, sir, that I am a conservative; if I am not, let it be shown. And if any man refuses to stand upon the open, broad, and common platform where place myself, I deny to him all right and title to the name. And now, sir, I give you the ground on which I stand, in relation to Slavery. I hold, sir, that the language of the Discipline is true! What is the ground there stated? Hear it! ‘What shall we do for the extirpation of the EVIL of SLAVERY? — We are as much as ever persuaded of the EVIL of slavery!’ That’s my doctrine, sir! Slavery is an evil! [This he uttered in a voice of thunder, and struck the table so violently with the Discipline, that the little book almost jumped out of its cover!] “I say it is an evil, because I feel it to be an evil. Who that has not breathed a southern air can say the same? Who knows how the shoe pinches, but he who wears it? This sentiment I am not ashamed to own, nor to proclaim on the house top, here or elsewhere. This is the broad open ground of the Discipline. It is not the conservatism, however, that is only to be represented by the cabs of your city, which, if the horse is run over, always let down on one side! No, sir. Conservatism proper involves principles accommodating to both sides of a contested question. This is it. Slavery is a great evil, but not necessarily a sin! Both sides are looked at in this. Those who seek for its extirpation, and also those who are compelled to submit to it. An avowal and maintenance of this position we demand at your hands. This is to occupy Disciplinary ground. This is practical conservatism, — a different thing altogether from the one-sided doctrine and practice referred to.

“We know slavery to be an evil. We acknowledge that we feel it to be an evil. But we are compelled to submit. The wrong has been inflicted upon us, and inflicted upon us by those very brethren from the North who now withhold from us their sympathies and prayers, and refuse to pity us and help us, in this our time of need. Their interference has prevented our deliverance from it, and perpetuated the wrong for an unlimited period in time to come. [The speaker here turned round,

and said. 'Br. Crowder, when was the great debate in the Virginia Legislature?' Crowder. 'In 1831.' He then assumed the common and unaccountable position which has been assumed by every person on that side of the question for years past, that the modern anti-slavery agitation embarrassed and prevented a movement that in fact was begun and ended before abolitionism had an existence. As the argument is familiar to your readers, I will pass it by, and gave you an illustration that told finally upon the congregation.] Yes sir, unfortunately, at the very moment when the bow of promise spanned the moral heavens, cheering the servant and child of God with the hope of seeing speedily the hour long expected, so ardently desired, a dark cloud was seen rising in the north. True, it was no larger than a man's hand in its commencement, but soon it grew and spread until the entire hemisphere was covered with blackness and darkness, and Virginia was clad in sackcloth, and mourning and sorrow prevailed over the land. Thus was the tide settling in so strongly in favor of emancipation rolled back to an indefinite distance, yet I am persuaded that in this matter the hand of the Lord was seen overruling for good, what I hardly knew whether to designate as the error or wickedness of the abolitionists! God only knows which! But at the very period to which I refer, communications were received from distinguished colonists in Liberia, remonstrating against the character of the emigrants sent out, urging us to stay our hand, and send only such as were fit for freedom, or they would be ruined and undone! This was a wise and sage remark, not perhaps the result of philosophic investigation, but the spontaneous promptings of the colored man, in view of the stubborn facts before him.

"There is an important principle involved, that I can illustrate better by an allusion familiar to all. If the amount of ignorance and vice that now annually is poured in upon us from the old world, had been poured in upon the colony at Jamestown, Va., or that of Plymouth Rock, this vast republic, that has struck its roots deep in the soil, and spread its branches from Maine to Mississippi, and from the Atlantic almost to the Pacific Ocean, would never have had an existence! But now, having acquired strength and stability of character, our country is able to receive this floodtide of emigration, and thus far our political power and character remains unchanged. And God grant that it ever may! and that Time, in its rapid roll, may see continued and perpetuated, our civil and religious liberty.

"The application of my remark is this: Had Virginia carried out the project she began in 1831, and poured upon the infant colony the mass of ignorance and vice which is embodied in her slave population, that

colony would have been reduced ere this, to its original state of heathenism and corruption. And what prevented it? The abolition excitement? Thanks to the abolition excitement that we have a flourishing colony there, that is destined to be, during the next fifty or one hundred years, a home for every slave in America who chooses to go there. I know that the abolitionists never designed this. Their action in reference to the colony is well illustrated by the hand that with a dagger aims a death blow at the heart, but fails to reach its aim, and only opens an abscess in the side, where was concentrated the elements of dissolution and death, and thus relieves from danger that had threatened the existence of their victim. I have therefore no quarrel with my abolition brethren. I believe God has used them, and will yet use them, for the accomplishment of a great deal of good! [Amen! shouted many voices!]

"I return now to inquire again, who are the conservatives? Do you wish to know where the conservative is to be found? There he sits! [pointing to Doct. Bond, who sat in front of him.] He is a true conservative. His course in the Advocate and Journal proves it; that presents to us the true doctrine of conservatism. 'Slavery an evil, but not necessarily a sin.' [Stick a pin there, says your reporter. That reference to Doct. Bond is in effect a nomination and election of the next four years as Editor.] But I heard a different idea on this subject, from a quarter that I was not expecting it, on the subject of slavery. The brother from Baltimore (Slicer) stated two extremes. One of them I pronounce a God-dishonoring doctrine! Slavery, it was said, 'is regarded by some as a great national and social blessing!' I never heard that doctrine from a minister until I heard it on this floor! I appeal to my southern brethren, if they ever heard such a doctrine advanced by a minister in all the South?" ["No, never"!! was responded as with the voice of many waters.] "Did you ever hear anybody utter such a sentiment, who had sense enough to get upon his horse and carry a bag of grain to the mill? I have been a resident of the South for forty-one years, and have been now nearly twenty years a preacher, but I never heard such a doctrine until I heard it here, from one from whom I certainly did not expect to hear it. And one too, who professes to be a middle man, standing between two imaginary extremes of his own contrivance, as a great mediator, with his hands on both! [Laughter among Southern men.] Sir, there is no middle ground between us and the abolitionists. On the question of slavery, the southern conferences occupy the middle ground, as I have shown. But where is that brother? If not with the ultra abolitionists, I am sure I cannot tell where he is,

for there is no ground of difference between us and them on which to stand. There is no shading off here, sir, at the margin of guilt, but the bold and abrupt step from right to wrong. The difference then is this, and this alone. And in order to pass from one side to the other of this question, a wall must be scaled, high as heaven itself! To those who claim to be with us, and not in reality with the abolitionists, I say, if you really belong to us, come and sit down by our side, and do not place us in a position of extreme distance, between which and some other extremity you are pleased to place yourselves! I repeat it. Our position is this. Slavery is an evil to be submitted to only because we must. That's common sense, — A'n't it, Doctor? [turning to Doct. Bond, to which he nodded assent.] And to be submitted to only, until we can get rid of it, and that should be as soon as practicable. The ultra abolitionists deny our position, and maintain that it is necessarily a sin, under all circumstances. Now I regret to declare it,—yet my honest convictions are, that the action of the Baltimore Conference sympathizes with all the principles of ultra abolitionism. And while at the same time I can shake hands in my heart with my Baltimore brethren, I do say, that their action in this case could only be based upon the principle that slave-holding is necessarily a sin. I now come to notice the arguments of the abolitionists, by which the evident assumption of the Baltimore Conference in this case is sustained.

“1. *Slavery is wrong in the abstract.* Now, sir, I ask, what is Slavery? Slavery is a concrete act! And what is meant by slavery, abstractly considered? If it means anything, it means aside or away from its circumstances. But I ask what conception we can have of any thing, aside from its circumstances, that is dependant upon those circumstances for its existence? Slavery is a thing of circumstances! What do we know of right or wrong abstract from circumstances? It may be said that by slavery in the abstract is meant, the overt act. But the overt act is inseparable from the circumstances of that act. They constitute the overt act itself. There is no such thing, we repeat, as slavery, abstract from its circumstances. They are one and inseparable. Is slavery defined to be government by physical force? If that's what you mean by slavery, then it is assumed that government by physical force is wrong in the abstract, or aside from the circumstances attending it. But will any man undertake to sustain this position? Then I inquire if it will be contended that the government by physical force of the residence in the jail at Sing Sing is wrong? O no! you will say, because of the circumstances of their detention. Circumstances then determine the character of the act; and what is true of an act under one set of cir-

circumstances, is false under other circumstances. In one case it may be wrong, in the other right. For instance, murder is taking life. If done in accordance with law, it is right — if in violation of law, or with malice forethought, it is wrong. Thus it is of slavery, which is justifiable or wrong according to circumstances.

2. *What is wrong in itself, can never become right by perpetuation.* This is false, for if there be no way by which claims, having their origin in wrong, may become valid in time to come, by contrivance or perpetuity, then is there no rightful claim or ownership to landed estate, the world over! For all such claims had their origin in wrong and injustice, in the first instance. Scarcely a human government on earth, but had its origin in robbery, oppression and wrong. And if wrong can never assume the aspect and character of right, then must injustice and wrong remain forever attached to all such claims as I have specified. [The speaker then referred to the Norman conquest of England — the settlement of America, making an exception in favor of Virginia, to prove his position, taken above.] The principle, in its application as above elicited, it this, sir. Things originally wrong, become right, when to redress the wrong would inflict greater evil than good upon the community. Wrong becomes right, I repeat it, when greater mischief than good will follow a recognition of the rights so long withheld. With some practical remarks, I shall conclude. No one will deny that Abraham was a slaveholder, or that the Jews held slaves, under certain circumstances, by Divine sanction. So that in one instance it was right! Now God would not have sanctioned it at all, unless circumstances do make it right. What the circumstances were we know not, but we are bound to allow the fact from the words we have in the Scriptures. [The existence of Slavery in the days of Christ and his apostles, and their course respecting it, was there argued at some length, showing the parallel between the course they pursued, and that which the southern church carried out: — except, however, one thing. He did not argue that any of the apostles held slaves. After pointing out the proper course to be pursued on the subject of slavery, he resumed.]

“Allow that it was wicked for men to wash their hands in their brother’s blood, on the coast of Africa, and by perpetuating the horrid traffic in this and other lands. Allowing this, I insist upon it that the hand of God was in it. How many thousand have been taken from the darkness and degradation of heathenism in their own land, have been illuminated by the light of truth in this country, and being soundly converted, are found clothed and in their right mind, at the feet of the Saviour. With confidence I declare it as truth, that their condition is a thousand

times better than it would have been if they had remained in their own land, and never been removed to this. For there is very little reason to believe that the same amount of effort to redeem Africa, that has been made, would ever have been put forth, had not her condition and claims upon Christian philanthropy been placed before us as it has been, by the existence of slavery in our midst. I ask, sir, where is the man with an honest heart, that can say that it would have been better for Africa, had her sons never been held in slavery." [The speaker then presented what in his view was the prospective condition of Africans in this country. It was their ultimate colonization in Africa or some part of this country. He then referred to his own labor among the negroes of the South,—not ashamed to have it known that he was the "negro's preacher." He then pointed out the duty of the M. E. Church on this question, alleging, that in making laws for the government of her members on this question, she was assuming a politico-ecclesiastical character. He argued at some length, and with much ability, that the opposition of Southern brethren to making laws on this question, originated in their antipathy to a union of Church and State. Some of his remarks were exceedingly severe upon those ministers who take an active part in politics. On the feeling manifested by Southern Methodists in view of legislating on slavery, referring to the objection about Church and State, he said,] "Don't be surprised then, when you see your Southern brethren look anxious, scowl darkly and speak in earnest, when you talk of legislating on slavery. If you really wish to do us good, and be a blessing to the black man, I will tell you how to accomplish it. Buckle on the proper armor of the gospel minister, and come home and work with me, side by side. Go with me to the cabin of the slave and wipe the tear from the sorrowing face of affliction. Stand by his dying couch, and tell him Jesus died that he might live. Exalt before the admiring gaze of slave and master the consecrated cross, and let both come and weep beneath its shadow! I know, sir, that in my remarks I have wandered from the strict limits of the question. I have done so for an obvious reason. But I return."

[He then closed by some remarks, urging the injustice of sustaining the decision of the Baltimore Conference, and thereby injuring irreparably "the unfortunate brother for becoming connected with an amiable lady who was unfortunately, though to a very limited extent, connected with slavery." The appeal case was then made the order of the day for to-morrow, immediately after reading the journal.]

Wednesday, May 8.

The Conference was opened as usual, Journal read, corrected and approved. After a few remarks from various members, J. A. Collins rose and said, "Mr. President, the Baltimore delegation have requested me to perform the duty of replying to the prosecution of the appeal, which was so ably presented by my friend from Va. It is not without some diffidence that I rise to defend one of the oldest annual conferences in our connection. One that has stood by the Discipline, through weal and through woe; and has contributed much to promote the interests of our church, and has remained until now entirely untarnished, pure, and above suspicion. Her best defence I am persuaded would be to let her own acts speak in their proper language.

"The question involved in this case, is one of great interest and importance. The subject of pro-slavery and abolitionism, has for a long time agitated and convulsed the ecclesiastical and national councils of our country; and the case before us has connected with it, and will bring up before us the whole question, distinctly and clearly. And much care, discretion, prudence and freedom from excitement is necessary to manage and settle it aright. And I pray God that I may be enabled so to conduct the case on my part, as will result in his highest glory, and the interests of the church.

"I was glad to hear the remarks of my brother from Va., on the evil of slavery. And I cannot forbear congratulating him on the fact of his conversion to anti-slavery opinions. Until yesterday, I did not suppose such was the fact. Sir, I was delighted to hear the warm and zealous manner in which he denounced slavery, and reiterated the sentiments of the Discipline on slavery; and also the prompt and hearty response uttered by the southern brethren in the negative, when asked by the speaker if they had ever heard slavery designated a blessing. I was much pleased, sir. But for the life of me, I could not help thinking of the Resolution of an annual conference, declaring "slavery, as it exists in the United States, not a moral evil."! I should like to know what kind of an evil the brother from Virginia considers slavery to be! And notwithstanding the anti-slavery sentiments so warmly insisted upon and responded to yesterday, it will not be forgotten by members of this General Conference, that lengthy, labored, and able speeches were made upon the floor of the General Conference in 1836 and 1840, in favor of slavery, by members of the delegation from Va., to which that brother belongs, defending it, from the word of God, and regarding it as a Divine institution. And I remember that Professor Simms has written a work avowing the same opinion. He is professor in Randolph

Macon College, is he not? — (turning to W. A. Smith, who nodded assent.) And although my friend said, that no one who had sense enough to get on a horse and carry a bag of grain to mill, had ever advocated the sentiment that slavery was a blessing, yet, sir, the President of a Methodist College has advocated such a sentiment, and I suppose he has sense enough to go to mill! Still, I am glad to hear what I have heard.

"But there is a drawback upon my pleasure. My friend, while speaking on what he truly called abstractions, which by the way, are doubtful in sentiment, and dangerous, if prosecuted to their results, has involved himself in a contradiction, by saying that slavery is an evil, and yet arguing that it becomes a good, by force of circumstances. I would not misrepresent him, however. I also understood him distinctly to avow his abhorrence of the abominable slave trade, and at the same time argue that slavery, which was the result of this very detestable slave trade, is right as it now exists in this country. There was another drawback to my pleasure. With all his strong expressions against slavery, before he had got, through his abstractions, he placed human beings on the same ground as landed property, regarding them as goods and chattels. I say these are drawbacks to the pleasure I realized; yet he calls himself a conservative. I give him full credit for his conservatism, as far as it goes.

"I shall not pretend to follow my brother through all that he has said, though I listened with a great deal of pleasure to his eloquent and able speech, for the very sufficient reason, that much of it does not refer to the case. Indeed, sir, if the case before us had been tainted with the small pox, two-thirds of his speech would never have caught the disease." [The speaker then reviewed what had been said in complaint of the records, and insisted upon their correctness and completeness,—denied that F. A. Harding had ever proposed sending them to a free State, for that would have been satisfactory. He then proceeded to examine the arguments adduced from the laws of Maryland, and the provisions of the Discipline. He showed that no law existed in Maryland to prevent any man from freeing all his slaves on the soil; for if he did not obtain their consent to go, or provide for their remaining according to law, the sheriff could take them up; and they would not be sold into perpetual bondage, as in Virginia, but simply be removed against their consent. "A man once free in Maryland can never become a slave again!" said the speaker. He then proceeded to animadvert upon the law of 1843, which makes the woman equal to the man, which he thought was contrary to the Scripture. The contemplated law against

free colored people, that passed through the lower House, and reached the Senate the same session, and was there quashed—he pronounced it “an enormity suited only to the genius of Algiers in her worst acts.” He then proceeded to examine the position that F. A. Harding had no power over the freedom of these slaves.] “But let the law be what it may, about the property of the wife, it does not destroy the power of the husband over that property; it only gives her a joint claim with him, so that the husband cannot dispose of it without her consent; and with her consent, he can dispose of it. Now, sir, I do not believe that an affectionate, amiable and pious lady will consent that her husband forfeit his standing in the ministry, or jeopardize his reputation, for the sake of a few negroes. Will she love the negroes more than her husband? [Here some one complained that his remarks were a reflection on the lady.]

J. B. Finely hoped that Br. Collins would “be allowed to proceed uninterrupted, as Br. Smith had.”

W. A. Smith was anxious that “he should be allowed to say anything he thought important to his cause.”

J. A. Collins resumed: “I deny the allegation! What I have said is a credit to the ladies! They love their husbands so dearly, that if their husbands wished it, they would consent to any sacrifice. They will never jeopard a husband’s reputation for the possession of a few negroes! I spurn the idea of insulting the ladies! They are and always have been, the better part of creation. And I have always been a lady’s man from the time I was fifteen years old until now! [This was said in a merriment-inviting manner, and was followed by much good humor apparent on the part of the ladies who crowded the gallery. He proceeded:] “I repeat it, sir, it is a libel on the ladies, to deny what I assert of them. We all know, however, the propensity of our species from the earliest period. When Adam was interrogated as to his disobedience, he tried to place the responsibility on his wife’s shoulders. “The woman thou gavest to be with me.” I always thought that was a dastardly act, and I still think so of any man who acts in a similar manner. In this case, the effort was not made to induce the wife to relinquish her claim, and consent to the freedom of the slaves. It could have been accomplished readily. Why, sir, if one-half the pains was taken to prompt this result after marriage, that is taken in coaxing and wooing them before wedlock, there would be no difficulty at all! [Laughter.] But he did not wish to free them. That’s the secret. And I suspect the man of being a slaveholder in his heart who makes any such plea. I know that if he wanted to have them freed, his wife

would not have stood in the way one moment. He ought not to have brought that plea.

"It is astonishing to hear the difficulties of emancipation in Maryland urged with so much earnestness. We might suppose emancipation was entirely out of the question! but instead of that, under the very laws quoted and expatiated upon at such great length here, by the advocate for the appellant, under these laws, I say, slaves have been and yet will be freed. I will give a case. Mr. Cornelius Howard, the brother of Col. Howard, of Baltimore, who bore the standard of his country so bravely in the face of her foes, during the revolutionary war, has left all his slaves free by will. How was it possible that he should be able to accomplish what is represented to be so impracticable? I will tell you the secret: he wanted to do it! 'The wish is always farther to the thought.' " [Here Thos. B. Sargent said, "It was during the past year; he died in February last." The speaker cited the case of a Br. Blake, who was objected to by the Conference on the same ground, and freed his slaves last year.] "And yet the appellant pleads a want of power to emancipate in Maryland, because of the laws! Sir, facts transpiring every day prove the contrary. There was nothing that rendered it impracticable or impossible. I am persuaded that the Baltimore Conference acted right, and that this Conference will confirm her decision; because Mr. Harding could, but would not comply with its requirements.

2. "The next ground assumed is the sanction of the Discipline. Assuming that emancipation could not be accomplished, it was then urged that the provisions of the Discipline were in favor of the appellant. I asked the prosecution, why he could not free those slaves? but that question was not answered, and it cannot be answered. So far from being sanctioned by the Discipline of our church, even by implication, he has violated one of its express provisions. And I insist upon it, that the Baltimore Conference, for this act, deserve the thanks, rather than the sneers of the church. It was a noble and fearless carrying out of principle, to take the stand they have taken, in the face and eyes of a slaveholding community. But to the Discipline. On this part of the argument we need deliberation. It is a fundamental point. The relations in which slavery is contemplated by our Discipline are threefold: in its connection with private members, local preachers, and travelling preachers. The only rule respecting private members, is in the 'General Rules,' if we can call that a rule on slavery, that is there found. It has respect merely to the traffic in slaves. Private members may inherit slaves, receive by gift, or marriage, or issue of those already pos-

essed — but cannot buy or sell, without violating the rule. Within these limits, there is nothing to take hold of them, in our Discipline ; and all will admit that the Discipline is sufficiently broad, latitudinarian and mild. Nothing is said of the duty of emancipation applying to private members. But of official members, or local preachers, the book speaks of the duty of emancipation ; only, however, where, or in such States as will allow the liberated slave to enjoy freedom on the soil. This, you see, is a tighter knot, as it were, on this question. But the strongest twist, the tightest knot, is found in the provision respecting a travelling preacher. If he shall ‘by any means become the owner of a slave or of slaves,’ he is required to execute a deed of manumission, ‘conformably to the laws of the State in which he may live.’ There is nothing said about their enjoying freedom. It comes down upon the travelling preacher with a stronger influence, compelling him to manumit. And there is wisdom in the regulation, making a difference between the provisions respecting the travelling and local ministry. By the power of transfer, we may be removed from a slaveholding to a non-slaveholding community ; for we are but birds of passage, subject to removal at the pleasure of the Episcopacy ; and no travelling preacher has a right, nor ought to have a right, by any means, to disqualify himself for the itinerancy. Yet any travelling preacher who becomes the possessor of slaves does disqualify himself for the work !

3. “The next point in the argument of my friend from Virginia was, a construction he gave to the doings of the last General Conference. I need only say, that referred, to local preachers, to show that any deductions therefrom as bearing upon this case, are wholly inapplicable, from the single fact, that the provisions of our Discipline are entirely different.” [His remarks on this point I shall not report at length. Suffice it to say, that he convicted his opponent, in this instance, of having fixed the attention of the Conference upon a provision of the Discipline that had nothing to do with the case, and keeping out of sight entirely that which had. After re-affirming what he had previously said of the conduct of Mr. Harding, (for he didn’t call him brother once,) and of the action of the Conference, he proceeded :] “The conscience of the appellant was introduced, as an argument in his favor. He had better let that alone. If I was disposed to speculate upon conscience, I would say, that conscience will sometimes become stretched tremendously by one’s interest. We have all heard of the highwayman in Italy, who could rob and murder without remorse, but who was very much afflicted in his conscience by having eaten some meat one day during Lent ! I wish the appellant’s conscience had been at work

before he put us in the position we are now compelled to occupy towards him.

"My friend from Virginia, rejoiced over one item in the report of the Conference committee in this case, as if he had found a great spoil! Will the Secretary please read from the journal the last clause of the report?" [The Secretary here read what referred to "the old ones," &c., which Mr. Smith had pointed out as an obligation to hold two in perpetual bondage.] "That's it," said Mr. Collins. "He chuckled over that greatly. He forgot to tell this Conference that this very clause was struck out by the Conference before they would adopt the report! Will the Secretary please read a little further?" [The Secretary read to where they struck out that clause, and then sat down. Mr. Collins resumed:] "My friend forgot to tell you that we amended the report by striking out those very words before we adopted it. But suppose it had been adopted as first reported. Let me remark in reference to that supposition, that these two old ones had passed the age at which the law makes provision for even the possibility of freedom, unless under certain very perplexing provisions. But it is sufficient to say, that by striking out that clause, and thus making no exception, the Conference required the emancipation of all the slaves.

"One reason in justification of the appellant was, the spirit of the Discipline. It is rather a hard thing to define spirit, sir; and my friend certainly did not trouble us with much metaphysics on that point. He said that the Discipline was conservative on the question of slavery. On this question, I insist that the Discipline is not conservative; it is opposed, and only opposed to slavery. Nothing in the Discipline sanctions slavery at all. He ridiculed our claims to conservatism. But we do hold, in fact, a conservative position between the pro-slavery party in the South, and the ultra-abolitionism of the North." [The speaker enlarged here. I need not follow minutely.] There was one thing that sounded strangely in his remarks. He alluded to what he called a happy and providential interposition of the abolitionists. It had prevented colonization, he said. [Here W. A. Smith demurred. Collins paused. J. P. Durbin interposed a remark to the effect that "Br. Smith said that their interference prevented the ruin of the colony." Mr. Smith said something about allowing him all the advantage he wished for in his gladiatorial exhibition. Mr. Collins disclaimed the design of playing the gladiator, and Mr. Smith rose promptly and acknowledged his error in making the remark he did, but thought the brother had fallen into a dream, "and nothing would wake him up but a good sound fall." Mr. Collins resumed:] "I do not design intentional error. The

part I perform in this matter, is from a sense of duty, in defence of the Baltimore Conference, and I am all anxiety for the result; and yet I am persuaded that a correct view of the case only is necessary to induce this body to dismiss the appeal. I think I can say, I know it will be dismissed or affirmed.

"Sir, we were not ignorant of the laws of Maryland relating to this case. Our action was had in full view of these laws. We simply acted according to the universal practice of the Baltimore Conference in like cases. Our records have been before every General Conference, and never have they said that our action was contrary to the Discipline of the church; and hence the action of the Baltimore Conference is as much approved in these doings, as the action of any conference in the Connection.

"The ground of my defence of the decision of the Baltimore Conference is this: 1. The appellant violated the Discipline of the church. He can comply with its provisions, if he will — but he will not. Therefore he was suspended. Indeed, he seemed to court martyrdom in this matter. His conduct was rude, exceedingly, before the Conference, and he denounced that venerable body, as a set of ultra abolitionists, for dealing with him as they did." [The Bishop here remarked, that what he was now saying referred to nothing that was in the record, and he thought it rather irrelevant. Mr. Collins replied, that he had been drawn into it, from the course the prosecution for the appellant had pursued, by citing what Mr Harding had said and done before the Conference, which was not on record either.]

"The second ground of my defence is, in view of the fact, that F. A. Harding entered into this relation and connection with slavery, VOLUNTARILY! If he could plead the necessity of circumstances, there might be some mitigation. But his eyes were wide open on this matter; he was a volunteer. Bear this in mind! He knew that no slaveholder had ever been received on probation, or been elected to deacons' or elders' orders; and he knew that they never could be. And for him to secure admission and ordination, in accordance with our principles and usages, and then enter upon the relation to slavery which he did, and as he did, I hold before God to be a breach of his sacred trust as a minister of Jesus Christ. It was a high offence. And why did he act thus, when there was no compulsion whatever? Why did he throw this apple of discord among his brethren? Ay! in the very face of his brethren? I pronounce it again a solemn breach of trust. Why, sir, no Methodist preacher has a right to do as he pleases, not even in the delicate matter of matrimony.

"The appellant was aware, moreover, of the laws of Maryland favoring manumission; he knew the course pursued the year before, by the Baltimore Conference. I will now call your attention to the journal in that case: the case of Br. Hansingburgh." [The Secretary here read a report of the committee in his case, which had in it some admirable anti-slavery sentiments. The report made it his duty to free himself from all connection with slavery, but forbid his transferring the right of property, either by sale or otherwise. Until he complied with this, his ordination was deferred.] "He knew all these things: and with his eyes wide open, he married these slaves! A knowledge of these things, if nothing else could, should have deterred him. And when he was involved in this connection with slavery, his refusal to comply with the requisition of the Conference, was downright contumacy. Yet he did not hesitate to involve his brethren, and the church of God, in this difficulty. His conduct was a violation of his ordination vows, twice taken. He promised reverently to obey those who had the charge over him, with a glad mind following their godly admonitions. Yet he has manifested a contempt for the judgment of his brethren, whose godly admonitions he had vowed to follow. If there ever was a case of violation of ordination vows, his is one!

"Again: he has rendered himself unavailable to us as a travelling preacher. He is of no use to us as a slaveholder, in the non-slaveholding portions of our Conference. And the hands of the Episcopacy would be more tied, and their duties more embarrassing than they now are, if we were to consent to have two classes of preachers, i. e., slaveholding and non-slaveholding, in our body. This would be a difficulty added to the many that already exist, and moreover, tends directly to locality in the ministry, by confining one class of men to a [particular section of the work. Sir, by involving himself, as the appellant has done, he has forfeited the true genius and spirit of itinerancy, and we were obliged to get rid of him. I pray God to fill his place with a man better suited to our work. I beg the Conference to look at this point particularly. It alone is sufficient to warrant the action of our Conference in this case.

"The last reason I will give, in justification of the Baltimore Convention decision, is this. The position she assumed in this case has always been her position. She has never sanctioned the connection of her members with slavery. Every expedient has been tried, but in vain, to foist in slavery among her members. They have been obviated and exposed. She has maintained her ground in all time past, and she means to maintain it in all time to come. And call it what you please

we believe that we are standing upon the old Methodist basis, where the glorious principles of Methodism first planted her, in this country, by the labors of her able and godly founders. We insist upon it, that the Discipline of our church is opposed to slavery, and the Baltimore Conference is opposed to slavery! On this question, we have listened to a definition of conservatism, which is certainly the strangest I ever heard of. If that brother be a conservative, I don't know what conservative means. He is convinced that slavery is a great evil, he says, and yet he would have it perpetuated and extended. I beg him, in the name of God, not to force it upon us. Why try to force it on us, if they are what they profess to be? — upon us who don't want to touch it. And we have not been driven to our position on the subject of slavery, by the abolition excitement at the North. We are maintaining our original position on this subject. Our relative position is as the breakwater to throw off the force of the northern stream of excitement that would bear down upon the South with too great violence. I know we have been sneered at and satirized. All the force of sarcasm has been spent in striving to make our opposition appear ridiculous. But, sir, we stand where Asbury stood, and where our fathers stood. In the observance of these principles we hope to live, in their defence we are willing to die. We will give them up for no man.

“The difference between our conservatism and the conservatism of my friend from Virginia is great. He is opposed to slavery, and yet willing to perpetuate it — force it where it never has been — and upon those who don't want it. I can't understand why he wishes to accomplish this. If that's his conservatism, we don't want any thing to do with it — we don't want it, and by the blessing of God, we won't have it.” [After some remarks on the perils of the colonization cause — the views of the Baltimore Conference on slavery, as being not a sin always — the noble acts of many of its members in freeing their slaves, &c. &c., the speaker expostulated as follows:]

“And now I ask the members of this Conference, if they will throw this man back upon us? Pause before you do it! Deliberate calmly ere you take this step. Are you prepared to make another slave-holding Conference? for, if this man is thrown back upon us against our wishes, and in the face of our deliberate and repeated action on this question, we are hereafter numbered, in spite of ourselves, among slave-holding Conferences. Will you thus humble us in the dust? Will you desecrate the ashes of our fathers? Will you put us in the dust at the feet of this appellant, and say by that act, you shall be a slaveholding Conference? I hope not. How easily in a short time could our Con-

ference be overrun with slaveholding members, by having our young men, as they come up from year to year, marry Southern ladies who possess slaves, and thus change the entire character of the Conference. I pray you forbid it. Let us oppose the encroachments of slavery: nor allow another foot of the domain of Methodism to be intruded upon by it. If this young man does not value his standing as a Christian minister, more than he values his connection with slavery let him have his choice. If he values these slaves more, let him go and live with them." [The speaker then made various remarks apologetic, with reference to his manner of treating the subject, which breathed a Christian and magnanimous spirit, and sat down.]

Bishop Hedding, "If the members of the Baltimore delegation have anything additional to offer, they will now do it."

H. Slicer then rose, and proceeded to explain some matters associated with the Westmoreland memorial on the local preacher question.

T. Sovereign objected to the range of the remarks, as irrelevant.

Mr. Slicer replied, that he could not get at the matter involved, without the reference he was now making, as he by no means intended to take the course of a good man once, who, when he commenced his sermon, said, he should not take any text in particular, but preach up and down the Scriptures! [Laughter.] Yet he thought that the advocate for the appellant had wandered all over creation! He then referred to the happy influence of an anti-slavery ministry in the section of Virginia within the Baltimore Conference, compared with the influence of the slavetrading priesthood of the Roman Church in another neighborhood — and also compared with the influence of a Methodist Conference in the vicinity, that tolerated slavery in her ministers.

He then traced the progress of emancipation from the North East towards the South, and wanted to know if the brother from Virginia would put back this movement by opening the door for the increase and perpetuity of the evil of slavery. For he could not perceive, in all his brother had said, "that he held to emancipation in any sense." Then referring to the appellant, he spoke of the solicitude many felt for him, and the entire absence of sympathy or kindness on his part. He charged upon him an utter contempt and disregard of his brethren. Bishop Hedding thought, as his conduct was not a matter of record, no allusion to it was in order. Mr. Slicer admitted that, but insisted that a thousand things in this discussion were not on record. After presenting the subject in some further remarks, he declared positively that they might "send this case back twenty times, and we will not change our course respecting it."

A. Griffith spoke next. He called attention more especially to the fact that a part of Virginia was embraced in the Baltimore Conference. And notwithstanding the difficulty that is urged in controlling slavery in Virginia, we have kept clear of it among our preachers on that very soil, and cultivated it more successfully than the preachers of the Virginia Conference have cultivated their part, although they allow of Slavery in the members of their Conference. Other remarks were offered by him, corroborating statements previously made by Collins and Slicer.

W. A. Smith. "Before the Baltimore Conference delegation close their remarks, I would remind them of a point they have omitted. They have failed utterly to prove that this brother is a slaveholder. I hope they will not pass it by."

J. A. Collins. "He admitted that before the Conference. He never pretended to deny it for a moment."

F. A. Harding. "I did not admit it. I denied it plainly."

J. A. C. "What! did his Presiding Elder object to him? Will the secretary read the journal? [Secretary reads.]

W. A. S. "It doesn't say he was possessed of slaves, but, *connected* with slavery."

J. A. C. "What is the difference, pray? He announced that he could not comply with the requisition of the Conference."

W. A. S. "It was impossible, as he did not own any slaves."

J. A. C. "There are various ways of being connected with Slavery."

W. A. S. "Yes—for instance, as you are." [Laughter.]

J. A. C. "His connection was the control and direction of these slaves, and the possession of the proceeds of their labor and toil." This shuffling off upon the woman is a species of meanness unexpected. It is a mere special plea—a technical difficulty, a quibble. It is whipping the devil round the stump. Or in the more classical rendering of modern terms, as quoted by a preacher once, "It is the castigation of his satanic majesty around the radical remnants of a tree."

T. F. Sargent. "He admitted that he was a slaveholder before the Conference. He never once denied it. This is all an afterthought."

J. A. C. "Of all things, this quibbling could not be relied upon by any good cause. I will show you incontestibly that he never denied it."

Bishop Hedding. "Is the Baltimore delegation through?"

J. A. C. "Not through, sir! Did he not offer to send those slaves to Liberia? How could he do that, without acknowledging his ownership in those slaves? Sir, we are not here as a set of quibbling lawyers! did not his advocate put it in the plea here, that he was willing to free them, and send them to a free state or to Liberia? [He then read the

law proving joint ownership, and then resumed,] I am sorry to know that they have resorted to this quibble." [After some other remarks, the subject was deferred for the present, and the question of attending the Anniversary of the American Bible Society to-morrow, was discussed until the hour of adjournment.]

Thursday, May 9.

The Conference assembled this morning at the usual hour. Rev. Dr. Elliott took the lead in devotional exercises.

A communication from the Board of Managers of the American Bible Society, inviting the Conference to attend the anniversary of that Society this forenoon, was received and read by the Secretary, whereupon it was voted to accept the invitation, and to adjourn for that purpose at half past nine.

An Epistle from the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, was offered and read. It was in the usual form of such communications, and represented the Church in Canada to be in a highly flourishing condition. Their literary institution has lately been endowed as a College, and \$2000 a year secured to it from the Government. The Epistle was referred to its appropriate Committee.

Mr. Ryerson, one of the Canada delegates, gave notice of his intention to address the Conference at a future time.

Mr. Power, of North Ohio, offered a resolution instructing the proper committee to inquire into the expediency of so altering the Discipline as to prescribe a uniform course of study for licentiates. Referred.

Mr. Crouch of Kentucky offered two resolutions; the first instructing the Committee on Itinerancy to inquire whether the Lord's Supper is administered with sufficient frequency, and if not, to suggest a remedy; the second providing for the appointment of a Committee of five to draft a Pastoral Address to the Methodist people. Adopted.

Mr. Porter, of the N. E. Conference, presented a resolution instructing the Committee on Missions to inquire into the expediency of so altering the Discipline, Sec. 3, Part II., as to require the appointment of Missionary Stewards on each Station and Circuit, to take charge of Missionary affairs. Adopted. Adjourned.

Friday, May 10.

The Conference met and was opened as usual at the appointed time. Nearly the first business was the reading of a letter from the Missionary Secretary of the Wesleyans in England, authorizing Rev. Messrs. Ritchie and Case, of Western Canada, to attend the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, now in session, as representatives of their Missionary work.

Messrs. Ritchie and Case were then introduced to the Conference, who received them standing. Mr. Ritchie then addressed the Conference at some length. He attributed the necessity alleged by the English Wesleyans, for not sending a delegate to this body, to the disastrous influences that Puseyism was exerting upon the country, and to keep it in abeyance required the presence of every man in the connection. He spoke of the great influence that was exerted by the Wesleyan Connection upon the body politic.

This missionary work, he said, embraced 250 central missionary stations. They have in the field 370 missionaries. And although their missionary expenditures exceeded any previous year, being an outlay of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, yet these means were adequate, and the whole was met by the liberality of the people.

He expressed a hope that a delegate would be appointed by the body to attend the Wesleyan Conference. Mr. Case followed in a few words, congratulating himself upon the pleasure of meeting with the venerable body with whom he had once been connected.

The report of the Committee on Missions was now introduced. It proposed forming an Indian Mission Conference, embracing that section of the country bounded North by Missouri, South by the Red River, East by the Mississippi and Arkansas River, and West by the Rocky Mountains, — embracing a territory extending 450 miles from North to South, and 150 from East to West. It contains 21 Indian tribes — about 60,218 souls. There are 14 missions, and 7 Indian and 20 white preachers employed; and also about 31 native exhorters and local preachers, and 1000 S. S. scholars. They have three manual labor schools in successful operation. Various arguments were offered by the committee, in favor of said conference, which also submitted the following resolution: "That there be established an Indian Mission Conference, (bounded as above, and that it shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges of other annual conferences." [Query. Why was the Liberia Annual Conference founded upon a basis so different in 1840? That was to have all the rights and privileges of other annual conferences, *except* (!) that of being represented in the General Conferences. Why this difference?

Was it because a majority, if not the whole of their faces were black? Perhaps not. Can you tell, Mr. Editor?]

After a few remarks from several members, the report was laid on the table for the present. Dr. S. Olin appeared and took his seat. Every indication now gave evidence of the approach of a great struggle on the subject of slavery, as connected with the "Appeal case." The solemn dignity that sat enthroned upon the countenances of the Southern men and the Baltimore delegation,—the lively interest every where expressed in the cheerful faces of the New England men and abolitionists,—and the half and half mingled expression of hope and fear as to the issue of this great question, which the Northern men not abolitionists manifested,—all conspired to give an imposing aspect to the scene, that failed not sensibly to impress the audience that filled the seats upon the lower floor and crowded the galleries,—among whom were found, as of course you'll find them every where, those with cheerful smiles and pleasant looks, to throw around the arena of strife itself the soothing and checking influence of angel's guardianship. At this juncture, the combatants were seen, as persons in such relative positions often are, before the deadly strife begins, in closest intercourse. Mr. Smith walked up to J. A. Collins, and shook him cordially by the hand. "Ah!" thought I, "Mr. Collins, you've got to take it now. There are breakers ahead! Look out!"

Allow me at this time to present before the eyes of your readers the two men, whose remarks to some extent they have already read. JOHN A. COLLINS is a person of middle stature, with black hair, small, sharp features, and rapid in his movements and style of speaking. He is full of energy when speaking, has a clear voice, but fails in the management of it, and soon becomes hoarse. He is rather discursive in his style, and lacks in logical acumen. But his remarks are pointed, and his rebukes withering. The excitable temperament of his nature, while it prevents that clearness and concentration of thought, so desirable in securing the conviction of all his hearers, at the same time prompts to the utterance of many apposite thoughts, and led him to a range of feeling and expression, on the subject of Slavery and slaveholding ministers, that few expected to hear. He evidently forgot the caution that many would have observed, in his reference to slaveholding ministers, in view of their presence. I thought he would "wake up some sleeping lions," as Smith afterwards said,—and it proved true. But of the other. WM. A. SMITH is above the middle stature. His frame is large, well formed. He is somewhat bald. His expression of countenance is commanding, and his voice heavy. He is a master spirit. The South

could not have chosen a man who would more truly represent the character, or more ably plead their cause. He is truly an eloquent speaker, and although my prejudices as an abolitionist sided with Mr. Collins, my judgement decided that W. A. Smith altogether his superior, in his power of eloquence, and ability for argument.

For a few moments before the pleading on this case was resumed, Messrs. Smith and Collins were seen in close consultation. Mr. Winans proposed, "that Br. Smith take the platform within the altar, that all who were in the gallery might see as well as hear the speaker." This was agreed to. Mr. Collins then rose, and in a very courteous manner, announced his sense of the magnanimity of Mr. Smith in allowing him to occupy the time of the Conference in some further remarks, though he could have no claim or right to any such privilege. As I have given quite a full account of his first remarks, I shall present merely an abstract of these. Mr. Collins proceeded to disabuse the Conference in relation to certain remarks which he understood were current among the members of the Conference. It was reported that the Baltimore Conference had on its list of members several Slaveholders. He declared this to be untrue. All preachers holding any connection with Slavery had been brought to the bar and required to execute deeds of emancipation. Several cases of this sort were mentioned. If the laws against emancipation had been ten-fold stronger than they were, the Conference would have taken the same course in relation to brother Harding. They could not alter their course in this respect at the demand of the Legislature. He reiterated in the strongest terms what he had said on the previous day, that the obstacles in the way of emancipation were not insurmountable. Slavers were often set free, and were not molested. He did not know a single member of the Methodist Church in Baltimore who was a Slaveholder, and public sentiment was strong in favor of freedom. He contended that the pretence now set up that Mr. Harding was not a Slaveholder, because the slaves in his possession belong to his wife, was an afterthought, no such defence having been made before the Baltimore Conference. The laws of the State were produced, to show that he was a joint owner with his wife, and Mr. Collins contended that the arguments which had been urged to show that *he* (Mr. H.) was a slaveholder, were equally valid to prove that his *wife* was not, and that the Slaves were consequently free. The absurdity of this course of reasoning he thought must be manifest to all. In conclusion, Mr. C. reminded the Conference that this was not a local question, but one of life and death to the whole Church. If the decision of the Baltimore Conference were reversed, it would be im-

possible to keep the Church together. Would the General Conference, for the sake of enabling Mr. Harding to keep in his possession five Negroes, shake the very foundation of the Church? He begged his Southern brethren to pause before taking such a step.

Mr. Davis, of the Baltimore Conference, endorsed the statement of Mr. Collins in relation to the case of the preachers who had been connected with slavery. During the thirty years which he had been a member of that body, it had never allowed a travelling preacher to hold Slaves.

Mr. Griffith said he had been a member of the Baltimore Conference thirty-eight years, and during that time the body had never tolerated Slavery; and he hoped never to see the time when it would.

Mr. Slicer said that Mr. Dyerly, whose case had been alluded to, became possessed of Slaves by his father's will and that he offered \$700 to buy the freedom of the husband or wife of one of them, in order that all might be free together; but finding that he could not accomplish his wishes, rather than embarrass the Conference, he asked and received a location.

In the course of the discussion this morning, J. A. Collins said, he understood "that Br. Smith alleged, that I was connected with Slavery. I here declare before all present, that I am in no way shape or fashion connected with slavery!" — W. A. Smith. "Do you not hire the labor of Slaves?" J. A. Collins. — "That's not being connected with Slavery: But I don't even hire slaves now, I hire free persons alone."

At another time, while appealing to the South, Mr. Collins said. "Don't throw this man back on us. You will not commit yourselves, and we will maintain our position."

J. Early. "Your position is a wrong one."

J. A. Collins. "We've always been wrong then. Our fathers have been wrong. And some of you were once wrong, for those views have been entertained by some of you."

As Mr. Smith's first remarks have also been presented fully, and they contain the merits of the question on his side, I only forward an abstract of his second speech dwelling mainly upon what he said on other topics but indirectly connected with the case before the Conference.

Wm. A. Smith took the floor and made his final plea for the appellant. He would like to come at once to the merits of the case, but there were some preliminary matters which required notice. He had been congratulated on his conversion to the doctrine that Slavery is an evil. When and at what altar did this conversion take place? Methodists generally knew and felt when they were converted, but he confess-

ed that he knew nothing of it in this case. He had said, to be sure, in 1832, that Abolition was then in its egg state, and that, if the General Conference would put its foot upon it, it could easily crush it; but, if it was warmed with the smiles of our approbation, it would hatch a scorpion to bite and devour us. The dessolation which had followed this Apollyon, had more than justified all that he had said. In 1836, he confessed he had not the nerve to stand up and declare his sentiments in the face of the interruptions to which speakers on his side were exposed. In 1840, he had spoken on the question: and if it could be shown that any thing in his speech on that occasion was inconsistent with what he had uttered the other day, he would confess himself to have been converted. He had not altered his opinions in the least, but stood now precisely where he had stood from the first.

Occasion had been taken, in view of the response of his Southern brethren to the doctrine that Slavery is an evil, to congratulate them also on their conversion. The resolution of the Georgia Conference in 1839, that "Slavery is not a moral evil," had been relied upon to show that the South did not assent to the sentiment of the Discipline, "we are as much as ever convinced of the evil of Slavery." The Georgia Conference meant only to assert that Slavery was not a sin—not to deny that it is an evil. The latter doctrine was as heartily believed by the whole South then as it is at this moment.

"No, sir! I repeat it, we are not converted. We cannot even say 'whereas I was blind now I see.' And before that brother from Baltimore is half done with the South, he will find out that we need converting over again. I speak of that brother, by the way, not as the Rev. J. A. Collins, but as the personification of the Baltimore Conference in this case. And I assure him again that we are not converted enough to answer his purposes. * * * * And now to his demand of ultra abolitionism. On the assumption that he believes slavery to be necessarily a sin, and on that alone, can his proceedings and remarks be justified. What excuse can he have for the attack he made upon the reputation of that brother, but this opinion? [Collins denied having done so, and said he only insisted upon his unacceptability as a slaveholder.] "The difference is only a logical one,—the same, in fact, as I said. Nothing but the assumptions I have named would justify him. But I know his private sentiments do tally with his assumptions in this case. And I am not surprised at his assumptions in favor of his Conference. [J. A. Collins. "I have no other sentiments than those I uttered here. They were my true feelings."] "Well, I am sorry for it. I was trying to plead his case for him, the best I knew how. But the remarks he

made throughout symbolized with modern abolitionism. He talked of the "dark subject" and the "foul stain"! [Here the speaker became furious. His eyes flashed fire. With flushed cheek and a voice of thunder, he looked at Collins and exclaimed,] What dark subject, sir, do you know of, connected with my Conference? What 'foul stain' is found upon the pages of its history? Yes, sir, and he besought this body for God's sake not to drive the Baltimore Conference to take rank with a slaveholding conference! '*Take rank*'!! My dear sir, what do you mean? What do you mean, sir, by this insinuation? Will brethren never wake up from their dreams of security? Is there to be no compromise among us on this question? Will they sleep on alwsys, insensible to their danger, until the magazine shall burn beneath their feet, and strife, dismemberment and dissolution inevitably follow? Let them beware! LET THEM BEWARE, SIR, how they outrage our feelings!

" '*Take rank*' with Virginia! The Virginia Conference is a noble body of men — none more so. What do you mean by taking rank with Virginia? Who are you, sir, to hold such language towards me! What is the noble elevation to which you have attained, to come from which, you must needs stoop to reach Virginia! Sir, I excuse it with all my heart, for those expressions were only the scum and filth that has come floating down upon them from the upper and nether streams of abolitionism. For I was not an unobserving spectator of the expressions and emotions that responded to those exclamations from a certain quarter of the house. But they cut harshly across the tenderest cords of many a heart, and it is only at his peril that such language can be used towards those of his brethren who have been afflicted by them. He spoke of his Conference as being the back water of the connection, and spoke truly; for his speech proves that they have received into their bosom the drift wood, saw dust and mud, (!) that has come floating down from the upper and nether springs of ultra abolitionism! "

This will give your readers a specimen of the style of this champion of the South. But I will not write out further remarks on this matter. Thus much is necessary. Nothing more on this point. He labors hard at the close of his speech to prove the illegality and unconstitutionality of jeopardizing a man's membership in an annual conference for holding slaves, — and in the course of his remarks dealt out to Bishop Morris the following rebuke. "I ask by what authority a Methodist Bishop sits in the chair of an annual conference, and allows them to suspend a man from the ministry for an act not recognized by the Methodist Dis-

cipline as a crime? [The Bishop declared that it was for violating the rule in discipline on travelling preachers holding slaves.] It is not so, sir! The Bishop is mistaken. It was not discipline he violated, but the usage of the Baltimore Conference; which usage is contrary to discipline! [J. A. Collins thought he was assailing the Bishop.] I deny it, sir. I am not assailing the Bishop. But I give warning, that hereafter, at a proper time, I shall submit the question to the board of Bishops, and demand an answer to the question,—by what right a Methodist Bishop sits in the chair as president of a conference, and allows of suspension from the ministry for holding slaves, as in the case before us.” Some other remarks followed, and the Conference adjourned.

Saturday, May 11.

The Conference opened as usual. Various committees reported. W. A. Smith wished to offer a few remarks that he should have offered yesterday. Quite a lively and protracted discussion ensued, and finally the permission was obtained. He proceeded to remark that insinuations had been made against the personal character of the appellant, and that evinced a conviction that the case was a hopeless one, by his opponents, if allowed to rest on the true merits of the case. It has been insisted on in doors and out.”

I. Davis. I have not attempted any such thing.

A. Griffith. And he knows that no one of the delegation have.

W. A. Smith. To my aged brother, who charges me with saying what I know to be untrue, I —

A. Griffith. I did not charge you with an untruth. I said that you knew the Baltimore delegation had not done so.

[Here a multitude of voices, regardless of order and decorum, were heard loudly exclaiming. “We never heard any thing like it.” Tremendous confusion ensued. A few voices were heard above the din, saying, “I heard he was unacceptable.” After order was restored,]

J. Early moved that the decision of the Baltimore Annual Conference, by which *Francis A. Harding* was suspended from the ministry, be and hereby is reversed.

J. P. Durbin called for the minutes of the Baltimore Conference in the case.

A. D. Peck moved the yeas and nays, without debate.

L. Sovereign wanted to know if it was in order to lay the motion on the table?

Bishop Morris replied that nothing was in order now but to vote. So at it they went.

The result was as follows. — Yeas 56, nays 117.

YEAS.

Rock River Conference — John Sinclair.

Illinois Conference — Peter Akers, Jonathan Stamper, Newton G. Berryman.

Missouri Conference — Wm. W. Redman, Wm. Patton, Jerome C. Berryman.

Kentucky Conference — Henry B. Bascom, Wm. Gunn, Hubbard H. Kavanaugh, Edward Stevenson, B. T. Crouch, George W. Brush.

Holston Conference — E. F. Sevier, Samuel Patten, Tho's Stringfield,

Tennessee Conference — J. B. McFerrin, A. L. P. Green, Tho's Madden.

Memphis Conference — George W. D. Harris, S. S. Moody, Wm. McMahon, Thomas Joiner.

Arkansas Conference — John C. Parker, Wm. P. Ratcliff, Andrew Hunter.

Texas Conference — Littleton Fowler.

Mississippi Conference — Wm. Winans, B. M. Drake, John Lane, G. M. Rogers.

Alabama Conference — Wm. Murrah, Jesse Boring, Greenbury Garret, Jefferson Hamilton.

Georgia Conference — Lovick Pierce, George F. Pierce, W. J. Parks, John W. Glenn, J. E. Evans, A. B. Longstreet.

South Carolina Conference — Wm. Capers, Wm. M. Wrightman, Charles Betts, Hugh A. C. Walker.

North Carolina Conference — James Jameson, Peter Daub.

Virginia Conference — John Earley, Leroy M. Lee, Wm. A. Smith, Thos. Crowder.

Philadelphia Conference — Henry White, Ignatius Cooper, Wm. Cooper.

New-Jersey Conference — Thomas Neale, Thomas Sovereign.

Total Yeas, 56.

NAYS.

New-York Conference — Phineas Rice, Charles W. Carpenter, George Peck, John B. Stratton, Peter P. Sanford, Fitch Reed, Samuel D. Ferguson, Stephen Martindale, Marvin Richardson.

Providence Conference — John Lovejoy, Frederic Upham, Sandford Benton, Paul Townsend.

New England Conference — James Porter, Dexter S. King, Phineas Crandall, Charles Adams, George Pickering.

Maine Conference — Moses Hill, Ezekiel Robinson, Daniel B. Randall,

Charles W. Morse, John Hobart, Heman Nickerson, George Webber.

New Hampshire Conference — Elihu Scott, S. Chamberlain, Samuel Kelley, Jared Perkins, Justin Spaulding, Charles D. Cahoon, Wm. D. Cass.

Troy Conference — Truman Seymore, John M. Wever, James Covel, Jr., Tobias Spicer, Seymore Colman, James B. Houghtaling, J. T. Peck.

Black River Conference — A. D. Peck, Aaron Adams, Gardner Baker, Wm. W. Ninde.

Oneida Conference — John M. Snyder, Silas Comfort, Nelson Rounds, David A. Shepard, Henry F. Row, Elias Bowen, David Holmes, Jr.

Genesee Conference — Glezen Filmore, Samuel Lunkey, Allen Steele, Freeman G. Hibbard, S. Seager, Ala Abel, Wm. Hosmer, J. B. Alverson.

Eric Conference — John J. Stedman, John Bain, George W. Clark, John Robinson, Timothy Goodwin.

Pittsburg Conference — Wm. Hunter, Honier J. Clark, John Spencer, Simon Elliott, Robert Boyd, Samuel Wakefield, James Drummond.

Ohio Conference — Charles Elliott, Wm. H. Raper, Edmund W. Schon, Joseph M. Trimble, James B. Finley, Leonidus S. Hamline, Zechariah Connell, John Ferree.

North Ohio — Edward Thompson, John H. Power, Adam Powe, Elmore Yocum, Wm. Runnels.

Michigan Conference — George Smith, Elijah Crane, Alvin Wiley, Edward R. Ames, John Miller, Calvin W. Ruter, Aaron Wood, Augustus Eddy, James Havens.

Rock River — Bartholomew Weed, Henry W. Reed, John T. Mitchell.

Illinois Conference — Peter Cartwright, John Van Cleave.

Missouri Conference — James M. Jamieson.

Texas Conference — John Clark.

Baltimore Conference — Henry Slicer, John A. Collins, John Davis, Alfred Griffith, John A. Gere, John Bear, Nicholas J. B. Morgan, Thomas B. Sargent, Charles B. Tippet, George Hildt.

Philadelphia Conference — John P. Durbin, Thos. J. Thompson.

New-Jersey Conference — Isaac Winner, J. S. Porter, John K. Shaw.

Total days, 117.

ABSENT.

New-York Conference — Nathan Bangs.

New-Hampshire Conference — John G. Dow.

Tennessee Conference — Robert Paine.

Philadelphia Conference — Levi Scott. — 4.

EXCUSED.

New-York Conference — Steven Olin. — 1.

The Secretary announced the vote.

J. Early called for the reading of the names in connection with the vote, so as to correct any error that might be found in any case.

This was done. I looked at the Bishops to see what I might conjecture their feelings were in view of the crisis, for crisis it was, that they were now passing. Hedding was calm. Waugh seemed thoughtful. Andrew had absented himself at the moment. Morris, who presided, preserved his dignity in a becoming manner. But Soule looked anxious, as if expecting an afterclap. The South took it calm as summer's evenings be; but it was the calmness that precedes the whirlwind of passion, and the earthquake of power.

E. R. Ames, of Indiana, inquired if that vote settled the question.

Bishop Morris said, "the vote in effect sustains the decision of the Baltimore Conference."

Smith of Virginia, thought not. It is a refusal to reverse only. It yet remains to affirm the decision of the Conference, or send it back for a new trial.

Davis of Baltimore, hoped that the decision of the chair would be respected.

Smith. "Surely the Baltimore delegation won't go off with the matter settled in this way, by implication merely. Many voted not to sustain, who intend to vote for sending it back for a new trial."

Said Collins, "You can't argue the question now."

A. Griffith spoke, but I couldn't hear what he said.

Smith excepted to the decision of the chair.

W. Capers. "I appeal from the decision." Seconded.

The President stated the question.

Smith wanted to make a remark, but was put down by cries of "Question!" "Question!" "Order!" "Question!" "Well, go ahead," said he.

Dr. Capers demurred.

The President stated the point distinctly, so that those voting to sustain the decision of the chair understood that they were voting that the decision of the Baltimore Conference should be sustained.

Smith said he was satisfied.

A hand vote was taken, and doubted by some. A rising vote was called for, and was to sustain the decision of the chair, 111—not to sustain, 53. So that more than two-thirds of the Conference, twice over, voted in effect, to sustain the Baltimore Conference in the stand she had taken against slaveholding ministers.

Wm. A. Smith asked to have his "protest spread out upon the face of the journals, against the decision of the chair. A correct decision

has not been given; and I wish my protest recorded upon those journals, as a beacon of warning to the General Conference, for all time to come, to prevent injustice, and trampling under foot the rights of a minority in the dust."

H. Slicer, of Baltimore. "I voted in the majority. I wish the vote reconsidered, that all may show just where they are on this matter. If any who voted in the majority wish to send this case back to us, we wish to know it."

Collins moved to lay the motion to reconsider on the table. Lost.

H. Slicer hoped they they would take a direct vote.

E. R. Ames moved to affirm the decision of the Baltimore Conference. Ruled out.

Dr. Luckey believed the decision of the chair correct. He charged the brethren from the South with trifling with the Conference, by insisting as they did that the vote was not a direct expression on the question at issue.

Somebody thought all discussion out of order, now. [At this time, Bishop Soule is leaning on his elbows, his face covered in his hands, as if in deep and anxious thought.]

J. Early rose, and in his own peculiar *harumscarum* style of remarks, put it on to Dr. Luckey for his "insinuations."

The Doctor explained. But his explanations invariably "darken counsel by words without knowledge," and excited the undisguised contempt of the South.

J. Early thought they might as well let it pass, though he believed that decision fatal to the church and some of the men who have urged it on. How far its fatal effects are to act upon the church remains to be seen; but it is not hard to divine.

P. P. Sanford would grant Br. Smith's wishes.

H. Slicer withdrew his motion to reconsider.

Dr. Capers renewed it.

"You were not in the majority," said one, "and can't move it."

The President said here, "The case is finished."

Sanford moved to grant Br. Smith's request.

Green, of Tennessee. "I now give it clear up that the case has gone against us; but I want to be set right, if I am wrong. I believe the decision of the Bishop wrong. I wish the opinion of the Episcopacy in their joint capacity."

Sanford. "I object."

Green. "What don't you object to?"

Sanford. "Is it in order to submit any such law question after the General Conference has decided and disposed of the case?"

Bishop Morris. "The Episcopacy don't claim the right here of deciding any questions but questions of order."

Wiley, of Indiana, here called the attention of the chair to the motion of Br. Smith's request, and made some remarks to the effect, that they ought to give his protest a place on the journal, unless it was objectionable in language. On this, the lion was roused.

W. A. Smith. "I allow, sir, that if I should prove myself wanting in that respect that is your due, and that is due to myself, my protest would not and ought not to be allowed a place on your journals; but, sir, I cannot imagine that the gentleman who just spoke, would in his heart suppose that I, or those who will be associated with me in the drawing up of this document, would so far forget what is due to ourselves as gentlemen or as Christian ministers. We shall doubtless bring out in that document, sentiments and forms of expression peculiar to our position. The Conference may like it or they may not like it. They have the votes who disagree with us, and they can say whether or not it shall be recorded. If they don't wish to grant our request when the document is read, let them say so. For I tell you in advance, (turning fiercely towards the Conference,) I tell you in advance, that you won't like it. The views presented therein, on the position you have assumed, will be such a rebuke upon your conduct, that it will burn your cheeks, unless they are insensible to shame!" [This outrageous denunciation was responded to by cries of "Order!" "Order!" "Such insult we won't hear!" accompanied by confusion that equalled the palmiest days of Southern chivalry on the floors of Congress, with this difference, however, that those who were abused and outraged, clamored for the right.]

Smith, with a great deal of *sang froid*, desired the Conference to keep cool and take it patiently.

E. R. Ames, of Ia., said, "It's very easy for one who is heaping insult and abuse upon others, to advise them to keep cool. He can very well afford to talk about keeping cool!"

Smith resumed: "The day was, sir, when a clamor like this would have unmanned me, and thrown me off my guard. But it's too late in the day now, sir, let me tell you. No storm of excitement that you can raise on this floor, or elsewhere, can stop me in my course. Sir! you might as well undertake to chain the lightning—or to confine the winds in ocean's cave. Proud in the majesty of truth, noble in her defence, and the defence of my country"—["Are you defending the country?" cried one.] "The cause of the church is the cause of my country and of my God. But I repeat it, that document shall be a

swift witness against you as long as you have ability to read, or mind to comprehend the truth. I tell you again, it won't suit you, [Order! Order!] Well, put we down, if you have power; but I mean to resist with my might the usurpations of a majority, the most lawless and reckless tyranny ever exercised over man."

On and on he went, in the most furious manner, with none to oppose, until S. Chamberlain, from N. H., sprung to his feet, and in a clear shrill tone, sharp as the sudden crack of hastening thunder, stopped the tornado for a moment, while he said, "Such language is insufferable. I will not consent to sit and hear it. I object to its further continuance; and if there's any power to preserve order, I hope it will be preserved by the chair."

All the effect produced; was a moment's pause, and Smith resumed again. Pointing with his finger at Chamberlain, and sneering contemptuously, he said, "He can't make 'Old Virginny' go, no how he can fix it!"

But the President decided that "Br. Smith is not in order," and he halted in his wild career. After remarks from several, action on the protest was waived, until it should be presented.

Memorials, petitions, &c., were called for.

Benton, of Providence Conference, presented one on slavery. That part referring to a slaveholding Bishop — its reference was objected to by G. F. Pierce, of Georgia, who declared that "those who presented these memorials had stated to the committee, that no action was desired by the memorialists; they were only intended for out-door effect!" It was further declared, that the committee had decided not to report upon them.

This, Dr. Peck, the chairman, denied. Said he, "The committee have not said they would not report."

Crandall rose to speak.

Early, of Va., got the floor. He was willing to refer memorials, if sincerely made; but if no action is desired, why waste the time of this Conference? why hazard the peace of the church by agitation on so great a question?

An evident misapprehension of the fact was now had by many with reference to the memorials; and several Northern and Eastern men strove to obtain the floor, while the extra steam, generated in Southern bosoms by the incendiary action of the General Conference in the Baltimore case, was throbbing for vent; and vent it had, as you readily will find, by the following narrative giving a faithful view of

A SCENE OF GREAT EXCITEMENT!

W. Wynans. "Sir, order must be preserved."

J. Early. "As these memorials are designed merely for home consumption, sir — and only to affect the — the — the — radicals, and not meaning to have any effect producing action here, they do not deserve any respect, sir. What do they mean sir? When we stood upon this Conference floor, we supposed these questions were settled. If not, if there is any prospect of a new state of things, we want to know it, sir. If we are to be disturbed, tell us so now and here. We will say what we think; and if union does follow this agitation, then let it be laid to the credit of those folks down East, — I beg pardon, I mean division. We love union, sir. We will make any sacrifices for union, and shall consent to division only from necessity; but we pray you tell us, at this stage of the question, what we are to expect? and if we must, then we will go back whence we came, and tell the aged men whom we represent, — and the young men who crowd around us like olive branches, — the thousands of converts who crowd our altars — and the slaves who are attached to our household, — we will go back, sir, and tell them our union is at an end."

E. Robinson, of Me., denied that he or any one else had said that the memorials against a slaveholding Bishop did not desire action. They did desire it. But they did not ask for any rule or law to be enacted in the Discipline. That's what he had before stated.

Memorials were now presented by F. Upham — from Providence West, 76; Duxbury, 42; —, 32; Eastford, 51,

Mr. ——. "We can't hear for excitement." And true enough, such a hub-bub and bustling, talking and disputing, all over the Conference, I never saw. As the honest Irishwoman said of her drunken husband's conduct: Sure it's not my own Johnny that does it, but the liquor that's in him." — so I thought, "It's not Methodism or Methodist preachers, but slavery that's kicking up this fracas."

Dr. Capers here referred to a memorial from N. Y. city, presented by a member in 1840, and thought these might be similar, and therefore objected to reference. But they came, — one from New London district, Providence Conference, 150 names.

W. Cooper. "If any new points are mooted, read it, sir. Read it, we'd like to hear them."

Here the member presenting it, S. Benton, let it fall to the floor, while he held one end of it. There it hung, a trophy of abolition zeal, and an object of southern anxiety. Benton proceeded to comply with Cooper's request. I admired his coolness. He was stating that they protested against a slaveholding Bishop.

"Stop, sir! Stop, sir!" said Cooper, screaming at the top of his voice. But Benton went on.

Cooper then proceeded to drown by noisy declamation, what he could not shake off by authoritative command, and he succeeded; for by this time he seemed beside himself, and raved as if possessed, about the abuse and insult thus heaped upon the Conference.

P. Crandall rose to a question of order.

W. Cooper, [looked at him any how but lovely, and pointing his finger contemptuously,] "I can't yield the floor to that man, sir on any question! If I was an ultra abolitionist"——

P. Crandall. "I rise on a question of order, sir, and I demand to be heard."

Cooper. "Talking about order, is he? Why sir, he is the most disorderly man on the floor." [Laughter all over the house.]

Crandall. "I do not care to notice any remark he may offer concerning me. But I wish, sir"——

Here Dr. Boring of Alabama, from the Committee on Slavery, repeated what Pierce had stated of the memorials not wishing action, by some one before the Committee. The President thought that what transpired before the committee ought not to be brought out now. Brethren should wait until the report was presented.

Dr. Boring. "But the committee cannot and will not report."

E. Robinson now rose and repeated what he had said in reply to Early, denying Dr. Boring's statement."

Boring re-asserted it as the statement of Robinson himself, and appealed to Wm. Cooper to prove that he said, "our object is the practical result."

Robinson. "I deny having made any such statement."

BISHOP SOULE'S REMARKS.

At this juncture, when all was hurly-burly and point blank contradiction, and the thermometer above "boiling heat," the Bishop rose. Never did his slow, measured style do him better service. "I am sorry that brethren misunderstand each other. They ought not to misunderstand each other certainly. But I take it for granted, and this Conference must take it for granted, I am sure, that when a brother rises in his place to present a memorial, it is of course presented to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Now I do not believe that any brother will present a memorial here upon any subject that does not ask for action. I then suppose that these brethren understood that action was called for. Why do these memorialists present their requests to us, if they desire no action?"

"I am not prepared to believe, that memorials will come up from New England, that would be a mere mockery of this body — from 'my own, my native land.' My country will not insult this General Conference by such conduct.

"I advocate the doctrine of receiving and treating respectfully memorials to this body and to every other body. I would never consent to shut out memorials addressed in respectful language. I expect these memorialists want you to act. They will expect you to act. If any of the memorialists say they do not want action, then you know of course that the memorial does not claim your attention."

Mr. Winans, of Mississippi, said he was a Southern man — an extreme Southern man — and he believed the memorials were intended for serious effect. We were bound to believe that those who signed these petitions spoke their sentiments. He claimed that all memorials should be heard, candidly and fairly considered. Why object to their reception? If they were important, they could not accumulate too fast; if unimportant their number could do no harm. For his own part, he shrunk from no investigation — he was prepared to meet every question fairly in the teeth — and he hoped that all objection to the reception of the petitions would be withdrawn or voted down.

G. F. Pierce reiterated his statements about the memorialists, and E. Robinson repeated his denial, which was confirmed by many Northern members.

In the midst of great confusion, Peter Cartwright got the floor. Now every body looked pleased, and began to feel a little cooler. The speaker began, "I do beseech brethren not to off at half cock! (Laughter.) Several have told us they were very cool. Well, I have kept cool myself, that is considerably cool for me. But I do think, sir, that if some of them were iron instead of flesh and blood, if they were thrown into the water they would fiz-z-z a good deal! (Loud laughter.) This discussion is too premature. Time enough when the committee make their report. We're at it a little too soon, though I know we must move quick to keep up with the age! I think the committee have done pretty well, at least I should say so, if was n't on it, and considering it's a dirty business! It's a hard case to manage, any way you can fix it, this thing called Slavery." After other remarks, he closed with saying, "I hope we won't blink the question, and if we must fight, why let us have a chance in the committee to fight a good, decent Methodist preacher's battle!" This speech excited no little merriment, and carried off a good deal of thunder and lightning from the Conference.

After this the offering of memorials preceded. From Stafford, 90; Tolland, 11; Provincetown, 52; ———, 42;— by F. Upham, who said, "They all ask for action." From Millbury, 77; Saxonville, 53;— by P. Crandall, who declared, "These are all sincere." C. Adams presented the action of the New England Conference, concurring with the New York Conference resolutions on Temperance and Slavery, — and also the action of the Conference, recommending such a change on the distribution of Conference funds, as to supply only those who were in need. Resolutions respecting slavery, from the Maine and Troy Conferences, also were presented. Cass, of N. H., presented two memorials, signed by 58 and 90 persons; also from St. Paul's station, Lowell, 185; Nashua, 108 names; — others besides these, that I could not ascertain.

Bishop Soule presented a request from the Editor of the Christian Apologist, (German paper,) for liberty to visit his native land, having in view mainly the promotion of the cause of Methodism. He favored it himself. The request was referred to the proper committee. After this, resolutions were presented from various Conferences, as follows : — *Michigan*, concurring with the N. Y. Conference on Temperance and Slavery; non-concurring with the Genesee on slavery. *Illinois*, ditto; *New Jersey*, ditto; *Texas* concurring on Temperance only. *Mississippi*, non-concurring each subject; *Alabama*, ditto; *Georgia*, ditto; *S. Carolina*, ditto.

Dr. Capers presented a report of the publishing committee of Southern Christian Advocate. It has 3800 paying subscribers.

J. B. Finley presented a motion, requesting that the General Conference might be furnished with an estimate of the salary and travelling expenses of the three Missionary Secretaries. Carried.

The appeal of Mr. Frazee, from the Michigan Conference, was made the order of the day for Monday next.

Conference Adjourned.

Monday, May 13.

Conference assembled as usual. Most of the session was occupied with matters of little importance to the general reader. Part of the morning was occupied in presenting memorials on Slavery. From Providence Conference, one signed by 47, by S. Benton; and one from Centreville, by P. Townsend. From Hubbardston, 77 names, by Cran-

dall, who said, "They ask for action." From Saugus and vicinity; from ———, 38; Williamsburg, 48; ———, 63; ———, 100; — by J Porter. "All call for action." This frequent reference to the blustering of the Southerners, induced the Bishop (Soule) to say, "That is taken for granted." From Readfield District, Me., one from 9 quarterly conferences, and signed by 102 official members, — by the Presiding Elder, Mr. Nickerson. Also several from 8 or 9 stations, signed by 499 names. From New Hampshire Conference, resolutions on Temperance and Slavery. From Black River Conference, a memorial from a circuit. The Genesee Conference, Resolution on slavery. And also a memorial from Heborn circuit, by J. B. Finley. From the Indiana Conference, 3 memorials from Winchester circuit, signed by 148 persons. Here Bishop Soule rose and made a communication that had reference to himself personally, by presenting a letter from Paris, France: he asked its reference to a committee. It was read. It came from the President and Secretary of The African Institute, informing the Bishop of his nomination as an honorary member. The Bishop said that it was patronized by various crowned heads of Europe, and distinguished men of every nation, — no American being on its lists but Hon. Daniel Webster. Its object was the colonization of Africa, and the abolition of the slave-trade. His design in submitting it to them was to obtain their advice as to the propriety of accepting the honor intended him. A committee was moved. Dr. Capers opposed it and thought it a private matter, of which the Bishop was competent to decide, without the advice of the General Conference. [And so thought I.] H. Slicer differed entirely in his views of the matter, and regarded it as one involving probably momentous results either of good or evil. The Bishop here rose, and speaking of the "special, important and responsible relation he sustained to the M. E. Church of America," declared himself "not at liberty, at his own private instance, to become connected with any association out of the M. E. Church, none at all. Neither Freemasons, Odd Fellows or no such societies, without your knowledge." [The mind that could seriously entertain, and give utterance to such sentiments, I will only say is not to be envied.] Dr. Capers remarked, — "I am sure, Mr. President, I cannot be concerned in designing any disrespect to yourself, or disesteem towards this Conference on what I have said or may say on this matter. [Here the Bishop bowed to the Doctor, in a way that effected more dignity than I thought a mortal man could bear up under, and disclaimed any such idea.] "But," proceeded the Doctor, "I do think the mode of action proposed. is giving too much gravity and importance for the state of the case and

the nature of the thing." [That's my views exactly.] I therefore propose a substitute, which will be an expression of the mind of your conference as to your competency to decide this question for yourself. Dr. Durban however favored the first move, — said he. "If in committee we find that this 'Institute' designed in any way to affect the question of American or domestic slavery, we shall keep you out of it." Dr. Capers' substitute was lost by a large majority — and then the matter was referred to the Committee on Episcopacy.

A memorial from various preachers in the N. O. Conference, was presented, proposing a plan of Home Colonization for free people of color, and those who may be freed hereafter, — praying the action of the General Conference in its favor. A special committee was moved for, but it was referred to the committee on slavery, as its appropriate destination.

The Rock River delegation presented a memorial praying the General Conference to take up a collection on behalf of the Milwaukie Station, Wisconsin Territory, to aid in building a new meeting house. This led to a long discussion *pro* and *con*.

After this came up one of the most ludicrous memorials I ever listened to. It asked for the next session of the General Conference to be held in St. Louis. To induce this it gave a grave view of the geographical position, relative importance, imports and exports, &c. &c., specifying the number of bushels of wheat sold, the number of hog's throats that had been cut, (!) the lard rendered, *et cetera et cetera*!

Dr. Durbin, next stated that he had a petition from the American Temperance Union. Not in order.

Dr. Bangs here introduced Rev. Dr. Lyle, of the Protestant Episcopal Church to the President, and he introduced him to the Conference. Of course, there was a short speech from the Doctor.

Dr. Durbin then presented a resolution requiring the preachers to present at once all petitions and memorials they may have in their possession. This was amended by Dr. Luckey, so as to say that no more petitions and memorials upon general subjects will be received after this week. — Passed.

The Appeal of Bradford Frazee was taken up and the whole time occupied with discursive remarks until the session closed without any action.

Tuesday, May 14.

The session this morning was for some time quite uninteresting to the general observer.

D. S. King presented memorials on slavery from Sheldon, 19 — E. Cambridge, 40 — Gloucester, 119.

Bishop Hedding presented a memorial on the Sabbath.

The case of Bradford Frazee was next called up. He had been located by the Michigan Conference against his consent, from a misapprehension of his wishes. Their decision was reversed.

At this period I was conversing with a preacher from New England, who was expressing his belief that the General Conference would make clean work this time on the question of slavery. This I have heard repeated over and over again, in view of the decision of the Baltimore appeal case. Indeed, it has been affirmed confidently that Bishop Andrew would not go from this city a Bishop. Here, allow me to say, that the fact of his being a *bona fide* slaveholder is now no more a question of doubt. He said to a sub-committee from the committee on Episcopacy, that he had been a slaveholder for ten years! In view of this acknowledged fact, it has been confidently predicted that one of three things must follow. 1. He must relinquish his slaves. 2. Or resign his Episcopal office. 3. Or finally, be arraigned and deposed. To all this I have said nay, verily. He will not be allowed by the South to do either. Before they will submit to that they will go off and take him with them, as their senior bishop. Well, what did we have this very morning, but a proposition by Dr. Capers, seconded by Dr. Olin, which, if agreed to by the Conference, will stave off the issue, on every point noted in the anti-slavery memorials; or, failing in that, give a convenient opportunity for the South to move of *en masse*! But give attention now while I detail the preliminaries of the proposed

PACIFICATION OF SLAVERY.

Dr. Capers presented a resolution which "in view of the distraction and agitation that has so long pervaded the church on the subjects of Abolition and Slavery; and in view of the relative position of these subjects in the present General Conference," proposed that a committee of three from the North and three from the South be appointed, who shall confer with the Bishops, and submit to this Conference a plan for the permanent pacification of the church," to report within ten days. Mr. — moved to amend by inserting "Three from the East." The amendment after some remarks was laid on the table. The question was called for, but Dr. Olin obtained the floor. "Sir, the proposition

before us is presented in the spirit of conciliation, though I cannot say in the spirit of hope. Success in promoting the result contemplated is possible, I grant; but I fear hardly probable. A dark cloud has come over us, so dark that I have no hope, unless God interpose by his good providence. It may be that my position or relation to the two extremes of the work, to the two extremes of this question, may give me some advantages in obtaining a correct view of this important issue, which now distracts and threatens us with ruin. I am well acquainted with the feelings of my brethren on both sides of this question; and I must confess that I see no very encouraging ground of hope. It seems to me, sir, that both sides are committed to maintain the position and the principles they now maintain. And yet there are important principles at stake, intimately associated with the integrity and perpetuity of our institutions as a church, that no brother from the South, or no brother from the North will dare disregard. But this question has assumed an aspect which now threatens to be unmanageable. My heart, in view of it, is deeply affected. I never felt on it as I do now. We meet on this floor as opponents, — we speak as men of opposite interests. Being away on a sick bed part of the time, I have taken no part in the discussions that have transpired here. My opinions and attachments are not committed. But I say it candidly and deliberately respecting the North and the South, that I do not see how my Northern brethren or how my Southern brethren can consistently yield the ground they have assumed. If the General Conference does not speak out distinctly on the points at issue, I cannot see how these brethren can go home to their several conferences without having all around them excitement and convulsion. With very few exceptions, all our preachers at the North will maintain at all hazards the unity of our system. They ardently desire it. Will my Southern brethren believe me in this? [Many responded affirmatively.]

“Your Northern brethren have suffered a great deal for the cause the two years past. Now, if both will come together — unbosom yourselves freely — tell the whole truth — keep prejudice and party spirit away from your counsels — it may be that they will be led to feel the common, dire necessity, and good and lasting results of harmony and peace ensue.

“To the North I may also speak. If you succeed in inducing this General Conference to affirm anything that is tantamount to the assumption that the simple fact of holding slaves is a disqualification for the ministerial office — and if the brethren of the South concede it, they might as well go to the Rocky Mountains, as to go home to their people.

They are compelled to maintain their position. O! sir, what shall we do? If we must differ in sentiment and action, for God's sake let our spirit be right. If we must part let us part in good feeling. If we cannot have union, let us have peace. If we must part, let us part in peace. Let us pray over it. I can hardly speak for emotion, and yet I must speak. Dear brethren, are we to push our principles to the breaking-up of our great Connection? Do we meet for the last time? I fear it, sir,—I fear it. I see not how either can make sacrifices without compromising the principles they adhere to."

[This address was delivered with the most touching tenderness of manner. It produced great sensation. The Southern men, more especially, were moved to tears. The overwhelming majority against them in the last test vote, and their own threats of division, so long persisted in, has driven them to a position that they hardly know how to maintain, and their dependence upon union is keenly felt, and the necessity of relinquishing it is matter of unaffected regret. I may be regarded as a prejudiced partizan of an antagonistical sect, necessarily hard-hearted and unfeeling, which I disclaim, however; but I will say, that the emotion manifested, and the tears shed, affected me but little. Why did they weep? Suppose division ensued, what then? Would these Southern men lose their power to preach, and forfeit their opportunity for laboring as they now labor? No. The same is true of the North. The only cause of grief, then, was this: the ecclesiastical edifice they are building would be less lofty and overpowering in its influence upon the country. So far as I am concerned, as a Wesleyan, their division is not desirable; their union is much more; hence, in saying what I have, it is unbiassed by prejudice.]

Dr. Durbin next spoke. "My feelings, in view of the scene presented this morning, are very different from those of my brother who has just spoken. I see light dawning upon this question. The scene before us, and the proposition now made, afford me strong hope. I cling, sir, to the hope of unity unbroken. This has been my feeling from my first arrival in the city, as expressed everywhere to my brethren in private conversation. They have said that it was 'hoping against hope.' My reply has been, that Abraham succeeded in that. The ground of my hope is seen in the tenderness manifested here—in the spirit of sacrifice every where now prevalent, and moving to the sacrifice of every thing except ulterior principles. This is the ground of my hope.

"My brother said, and said truly, that union is hopeless, if we settled it here that the holding of slaves was a disqualification for the Christian ministry in any and every circumstance. We are not agoing to say that,

sir. We never have said it. We cannot say it, sir. We have confidence in the wisdom and goodness of the men who will be on the proposed committee, and we believe that they will propose a plan into which we can merge our discordant views. And we believe that by the advice of the Episcopacy and the influence of prayer, we shall yet unite in a plan of conciliation. Our gallant vessel sir is not to be loosed from her moorings. There is too much at stake. Too kind a spirit reigns here. We shall yet see brighter and better days. I am glad to have two days intervening. Let those be days of prayer. They will mark a new era in Methodism." [He spoke of the influence of the Connection on the union of the States, the difficulty in the English Wesleyan Connection, and closed thus:] "If, during the days that shall intervene, before this Committee reports, any words are spoken on this topic, let them be words of peace. It is in my heart to say, sir, cursed be the man who will, in that time, utter a word calculated to influence the minds of any one." *

B. M. Drake, of Mississippi, spoke for some time, deprecating division, and doubting if it ever would take place. Hoped the M. E. Church, the strength of whose union was every where known, would not be first to break up on the question of slavery. He depicted, in glowing and eloquent language, the dreadful result upon the nation — the gratification of the devil, and the jubilee in hell. — As little was said by him that was peculiar, I pass over my notes with this brief summary. Several claimed the floor. It was obtained by P. Crandall, who said, "I claim to have as much of the spirit of conciliation, as any other man on this floor. And to those brethren who have preceded me, whose power over the understanding and emotions are so manifest, I attribute the best and purest motives. But I hope that in every act we do in this Conference, we will first know what we are doing, and why we are doing it. I would not, for the world, drop a single remark calculated to disturb the holy feeling which pervades this Conference and the congregation. I am as deeply interested as any one can be, to bring about a right state of things on this question. All who know me, know well that my course on this subject has been designed to prevent any division in the Church on the question of Slavery. We have had difficulties, deep and intricate, to pass through in the Eastern States. But sir, there was one thing, said by one of the speakers, that I do not agree with. It was thought that the position of the South and the North was similar upon this question. I don't think this is the true coloring of the matter. Not exactly the truth. There is certainly a shade of difference — a dark shade, I think; and as a representative

from one of the extremes, I claim to know something more of our position than others can. Sir, we at the East are placed above a volcano. Our enemies, whose operations are directed to the overthrow of our system, and the destruction of our societies, proceed upon the underground rail-road plan. [A favorite illustration of his, but rather stale.] We see, now and then, the smoke of the volcano issuing forth from small tissues, and it may come upon us, in all the violence of an eruption, when we are least expecting it. I have learned one thing. [Look out now for a developement!] When I discover a brother, who has become cold and backslidden in religion — whose liberality is [word lost] in all contributions to sustain the institutions and ordinances of the Church, whose reigning principle seems to be supreme selfishness,— all of a sudden wake up, as if under the influence of the grace of God sent down from heaven; when I see him warm and active in the discharge of duty, liberal in his contributions and benevolent in his plans, my suspicions are excited towards him. I fix my eye upon that man. I warn the members of the society against him! [Does charity, which “thinketh no evil,” prompt this? Or the divine injunction, “Speak evil of no man?”] That man is preparing the society for an explosion.

“The occasion of the excitement in our region, is alledged by the people to be this. Slavery is in the Church. She tolerates it. The General Conference tolerates it. Well, sir, we have to meet it. We do the best we can. And to pacify the people, we are obliged to say of your action in this body, what we thought true but have found to be false since coming here! Division is talked of; but by whom? Has any Northern Conference [and I include the Baltimore Conference] brought any thing before us about division? I hoped never to see the day, when division should be named in this body. The ministers at the North do not desire division. I do not desire it. I will go to the verge of principle to prevent it. I love the union, and toil and pray for its continuance. But if those matters presented before this body by our people are not met fairly, and settled according to the view our people have of what is right, they will go off from us in troops! We can't prevent it. The underground movement will succeed against our best endeavors. These men have a secret correspondence going on continually all over the country. They know their men — they know their societies; and every thing depends on the Geneaal Conference.

J. Clarke, of Texas Conference, here interrupted him by a call of order, for discussing the question of division.

Mr. Crandall thought the resolution touched that point. Loud cries of No! no! no! came from all parts of the house. Mr. Crandall said

"If out of order, I'll take my seat." The secretary read the resolution. The Bishop (Hedding) said, "I think you are wandering from the question." The good Bishop, didn't happen to think of it when Dr. Olin, Dr. Durbin and Mr. Drake were speaking, nor did any of the Southern men happen to notice it. Strange! wasn't it? A little desultory conversation occurred, and his time was extended; but a few words only were added, and he sat down.

J. Early, of Virginia, spoke. He favored the appointment of a committee — thought that if the abandonment of principle was not required, the Southern members were ready for any personal sacrifices for the sake of the beloved institutions of Methodism. He hoped the committee would be appointed without a dissenting voice.

W. A. Smith, of Virginia, approved the plan proposed. Disclaimed ever having cherished the desire for division. Never believed it would take place. He had uniformly and steadily avowed that sentiment. "The South never desired division, nor will she consent to it, if it can be avoided. And this is the sentiment of the whole Southern Church. [Dr. Capers responded to that as true.] They never will, unless forced to it. I don't believe we will be forced to it. This General Conference will not compel any such result for slavery. Divide, sir? There is no need of division — no necessity at all. Nor need we to stay together to prevent war in the country. [Here J. G. Dow, of N. H. called the speaker to order, for the same reason that Crandall was. And if an Eastern man had not thought of it, nobody else would; for North, West and South seemed to take it for granted that nobody but Yankees ever got out of order on this subject.] Mr. Smith continued a few moments and closed, hoping that negotiation would effect a compromise. A few unimportant remarks were made by several, when the appointment of the committee was agreed to by a unanimous vote. The committee was appointed by the chair. They are Dr. W. Capers, Dr. S. Olin, Dr. W. Winans, J. Early, L. L. Hamline, and P. Crandall.

PACIFICATION BILL. — On Tuesday last, a committee was appointed by the Bishop to take into consideration the subject of harmonizing the church on the slave question. This appointment was preceded by a somewhat lengthy discussion, which will be given to our readers next week. We publish the following from our reporter, in advance of our dates. Our reports next week will be full of thrilling interest. The Church is on the verge of a volcano! If the abolitionists *maintain* their ground, there must be a split; if they do not there will be secession. The following brethren constitute the committee: — Capers, Olin, Winans, Early, Hamlin and Crandall.

The compromise which such a committee will probably originate, may be easily conceived of, as yielding but little that is peculiar to the South, while it will, without compunction, give up all that is worth having, to abolitionists in the North. Three of them are slaveholders. Dr. Ollin, in his remarks to-day, identified himself with the South in the contingency of a division. L. L. Hamline has never been identified with the abolitionists. And one solitary abolitionist is on at the tail end, to fill up the required number; but what is he "among so many." Now, kind reader, look at the committee, and reflect a moment. They were appointed to prepare a compromise, in view of slaveholding practices, on the one hand, and abolition excitement on the other; and forsooth, the opponents of abolitionism have five out of six on the committee. So that the interests and views of one of the parties to be reconciled, are only of one-sixth the importance that is attached to the views and interests of the other party, the constitution of this committee being evidence in the case. Take into the account, that the Bishops are *bona fide* members of that committee, and you may well imagine the reason why the whole South were so full of conciliation and gratified, to-day.

The present is the moment of crisis. In the language of Dr. Durbin, it is "an era in the history of Methodism." True: and what will be its record in future days? Answer. It will be referred to, as the "era" when a mutual and honorable division transpired, or when a sacrifice of principle and right was consummated, to the utter dishonor of truth and righteousness. For the plain point at issue is this, as stated by the South to Northern abolitionists: YOU MUST COMPROMISE YOUR PRINCIPLES, OR WE WILL DIVIDE THE CHURCH. There is no middle ground, and these are the two sides of the question. How the issue can be avoided, I cannot conceive; and of the integrity of the Eastern abolitionists on the General Conference floor, I have a high opinion. They will stand by the people, by whom they are "pushed and driven up to the work."

After transacting some business of minor importance, the Conference adjourned. From 12 to 1 o'clock to-morrow will be devoted to prayer in view of the present state of the church on the question of slavery.

Wednesday, May 15.

This morning a few memorials on slavery were presented. The most absorbing business of the first part of the session, or as far as many

members were concerned, was the reading of **THE TRUE WESLEYAN!** Quite a sprinkling of them was to be seen all over the Conference. It was really refreshing to see from the gallery the vignette of John Wesley looking out upon his professed sons. It excites a great deal of interest, I assure you. At this moment I see two or three heads together on one paper. Dr. Bangs and Dr. Capers were so busy that one or two votes passed without their notice.

Various propositions were made, providing for alterations in the Discipline of minor importance. J. Spencer and J. Drummond presented one, providing for striking out the clause prohibiting official members of the church from carrying on the traffic in ardent spirits, because it implied that private members had the right. From a misapprehension of its design, some very good temperance speeches were made against it by Dr. Bangs, H. Slicer and others. It was finally withdrawn. Drake of Mississippi proposed to strike out the requisition as a qualification for membership, belief in doctrine, so as to conform to the Wesleyan principle as stated in the general rule: "One condition only is required, &c." Several appeal cases were named, but deferred for the present. Green of Tennessee, spoke of a manuscript in his possession written by Philip Bruce, a veteran Methodist Preacher now in Heaven. He thought it ought to be examined, and if deemed worthy, published. It was consequently referred to the Virginia and Tennessee delegates.

Most of the morning was occupied in the discussion of the proposition to form an Indian Mission Conference. It was lengthy and void of interest to the general reader, and I shall not be guilty of a repetition of the sins already committed by the speakers, by inflicting it on your readers. The hour of 12 having arrived, the members laid by every thing else to attend the service of a General Conference Prayer Meeting.

GENERAL CONFERENCE PRAYER MEETING.

Bishop Andrew vacated the chair to Bishop Soule, who was to conduct the services. The Bishop read the hymn commencing

"Giver of concord, Prince of Peace."

and said "Brother Richie and brother Early will be so good as to lead in prayer, after we have sung. Before singing, he made some affecting remarks about visiting the tombs of the Wesleys, and the probable interest their departed spirits now have in what is transpiring with the connection they founded. With deep and unaffected emotion, he ob-

served, "O! if spirits glorified around the throne may be supposed to weep, surely their tears would fall upon us at this hour." And then with an effort to speak, though almost choking with emotion, he said or rather sobbed, "My desire long has been, that I might sleep with my fathers, ere the time arrived, if come it must, when this body of Christian men and Christian ministers should consent to sever the bonds of their ecclesiastical union."

They then sung, and Mr. Richie of the Wesleyan Connection, and Mr. Early of Virginia, prayed with feeling and with fervor. This was succeeded by singing part of the hymn. The fourth verse of which is,

"Even now we think and speak the same,
And cordially agree,
United all through Jesus name,
In perfect harmony."

Prayer was offered by P. Crandall, of New England, and W. Williams of Mississippi. Then Bishop Hedding gave out the hymn beginning.

"God moves in a mysterious way."

He requested Dr. Capers of South Carolina, and G. Fillmore of the Genesee Conference, to pray. Before singing, the venerable man in a very moving manner observed, "This is the tenth general Conference that we have witnessed. Many dark clouds have hung over us. But I never saw so dark a cloud as that which spreads above us now. On other occasions we have trembled with fear, for the unity of our connection. But the occasion of difference then has been mainly among the preachers. He referred specially to 1808, when Asbury succeeded in getting the preachers together in groups, and by weeping and praying together with them, effected a reconciliation. But now the people more than the preachers, are engaged against each other. The North demanding of us the adoption of measures to prevent their ruin, while the South declare by the brethren who represent them here, that those measures, if adopted, will prove their certain ruin. And now brethren," said the old man with tears in his eyes, "What shall we do? The matter is at such an issue that man cannot controll it. Our hope is in God alone." The services were then concluded by prayer.

I looked upon this meeting with deep interest. I sympathized with them. It was indeed a solemn scene. Perhaps, and yet I scarce can hope the South will yield. If so, the North will gain a triumph for the slave. I would it might be so. My feelings as a man, a minister of Jesus Christ, induce this wish. Nay, more: my feelings as a Wesleyan prompt me to hope against hope, that it will be so. For as a Wesleyan,

I am attached to principles, not sect. We wish the true, abiding interests of the slave may be secured, by all of every name. And those who may have been unkind enough to think that our aim is solely to upturn the church will find out their mistake, if that church takes sides unwavering with the slave, and for his cause. Their disappointment will be as complete, and their insinuations as groundless as that of Abel Stevens in his remark about our reports of their proceedings. By the way, members of the General Conference have kindly assured me that my reports are more to the life than any that have been made.

Thursday, May 16.

The Conference commenced as usual. The proposition of Dr. Bangs, to admit the representatives of the M. E. Church in Canada, was yesterday voted down. The Committee on Missions reported against establishing a German Mission Conference, as recommended by the Bishops. They favored the formation of Districts independent of Conference boundaries, to embrace exclusively the German population. The proposed visit of Rev. Mr. Nash to Germany, was also favored by the Committee.

Dr. Capers inquired if any pecuniary responsibility was assumed by the Church, in reference to this agency to Germany.

Dr. Luckey supposed that as it was truly a missionary agency, the expense should be met by the Missionary Treasury.

H. Slicer thought it required more reflection than had yet been bestowed on it, and moved to lay the matter on the table. Agreed to.

Dr. Peck, from Committee on Revisal, reported several items of local interest and importance.

Bishop Soule, from the committee on a plan of pacification, requested a longer time to prepare for their report to the Conference. Granted.

Dr. Capers assured the Conference that the committee were anxious to hasten the report, and that it was a matter of pain to be unable to report now.

J. Early remarked that their report would in all probability, be ready by to-morrow, or Saturday at farthest.

Petitions, memorials, &c., were called for. From New York, was presented — one from the Methodist S. S. Union, asking an alteration in their Constitution, — one from the official members of the church in

this city, asking for the next session of the General Conference to be held in New York city.

From New England, by P. Crandall, three memorials were presented on Slavery — from Fitchburgh, 177; Leominster, 34; Ashburham, 31. On presenting these, Mr. Crandall referred to the remarks made a few days since, and the impressions that seemed to obtain quite extensively in the Conference, that the Eastern delegates kept back part of the memorials in their possession from time to time, in order to prolong as much as possible, a work they knew to be annoying to some of their brethren. He could speak for one, "I have presented each day at the proper time, all that have been in my possession that day. Some of our brethren are too suspicious. There is no one among the Eastern delegates who desires from day to day to annoy this Conference any way. I do hope that such suspicions will not be indulged in towards us. As we receive these memorials we present them; and while the door is open to us, we shall continue to present them every day that any come into our possession. We are, in this, performing what we consider a solemn and constitutional duty."

From Maine, on Slavery, by J. Hobart — from Hampden, 57. He had another, he said on the Annexation of Texas! Great laughter and confusion succeeded this annunciation. "I'll explain," said he. "They ask this Conference to speak out against it; because, if consummated, it will tend to the perpetuation of slavery."

P. P. Sanford. "I move you, sir, that the memorialists have leave to withdraw their memorial." This was seconded by a clamorous response from all parts of the house.

Bishop Waugh. "Let me state the question brethren." After stating the question, he announced, "Br. Cartwright has the floor."

P. Cartwright. "I wish to amend the motion sir so as to say, that it be referred to Washington where it properly belongs." But as no one seconded his very clever amendment, except by renewed outbursts of laughter, it was passed by, and "leave to withdraw" voted, I believe unanimously. [Just at this time, one of the Pittsburgh delegation, I believe it was, probably J. Drummond, sent me a note correcting my report of last week. It was as follows: "Sir,—The memorials from McConville, Norwich, Coshocton, Sharron Cambridge, Washington and Claysville circuits, Pittsburg Conference, and from Marietta station, Ohio Conference, were presented, not by R. Boyde, as you report, but by J. Drummond, to whose care they were committed by the memorialists, either directly or through the preachers of those circuits." I hereby express my thanks to that Br. for the correction. But my man,

uscript left blank immediately before the specification of those memorials, because I knew not the person's name who presented them. The blank was filled up by somebody, — printer, or editor, — with the pronoun "He." We desire however, and shall endeavor, that the character of our reports shall be agreeable to the title of our paper, *The True Wesleyan.*" L. C. M.]

From New Hampshire, by J. G. Dow; a memorial on slavery. On presenting it, he said: "I received this since I returned home, with a special injunction to present it. And as the servant of the church, I comply."

After receiving an invitation to hold their next session at Louisville, Kentucky, and attending to some uninteresting items of business, an appeal case was called up, which involved some delicate matters too sacred for vulgar ears I suppose, and all but the travelling preachers were requested to retire. Being a modest man, and not wishing to array myself against the powers that be, although a travelling preacher, I very cheerfully took up the line of march and retired.

Friday, May 17.

The fore part of the session this morning was occupied by the case of yesterday, and of course the reporter was not in. After that was finished the doors were open. Just as I entered, Bishop Soule was reporting on behalf of the committee on pacification. The amount of his report was that the committee had made no progress, and that it was their unanimous request, that the members from the North meet in the upper part of this house at 3 o'clock P. M. to-day, and the members from the South in the vestry of this house at the same hour. From this it is evident, that the question of slavery is more difficult even than was first supposed. What the result of this convention will be, I shall not conjecture; I leave it for my successor, who will be in attendance during the time that will be occupied with this matter.

It will be proper for me, in this connection, to refer to an interview I had with Wm. A. Smith, of Virginia. This morning, he came up into the gallery, in search of the Wesleyan reporter, and was introduced to me by Br. Hoes. After expressing his pleasure at the fullness and faithfulness of my report of his speech on the reception of anti-slavery petitions, declaring it 'the most fair and correct report that had gone out to the public,' he wished to see my report of his speech on the appeal case. I gave him a copy of it. He then remarked, that he wished me distinct-

ly to understand, that he was not responsible for his speech as reported officially. For although he would not attach any blame to the reporter, who had been worked almost to death, yet he insisted that the report did him injustice. "Now," said he, "I am aware that your friends will make use of my statements in that speech; but I wish them to know that I do not hold myself responsible only for my speech as I shall prepare it for publication, in pamphlet form, with the proceedings of the General Conference." In order that his disclaimer may be known, and the object he contemplated be attained, I refer to it in this way, and in this connection.

An appeal case from the Baltimore Conference, of but little interest or importance, came up this morning, and was speedily disposed of. The Committee on Revisals reported an additional item to Sec. vii. of the Dis., page 92, I believe which would in effect exclude any person from the church guilty of the use or traffic in ardent spirits. This gave rise to a brief but lively

DISCUSSION ON TEMPERANCE.

A. D. Peck, in presenting the report, said, "It will not be doubted, that the General Conference can with propriety insert such a clause in the discipline of the church. The act contemplated is already forbidden by the General Rules, in the prohibition, 'do no harm,' 'avoid evil of every kind.' For it will not be denied, that the history of this traffic is a record of 'harm' done to the body and the soul — to wives and children, and to the community in general — an irreparable injury to every relation which a man sustains either to God or his fellow men. It only remains for us to give the crime its appropriate classification." [After a repetition of the same thought several times, he remarked:] "One Conference has already decided to act in accordance with the provision of this clause. In this manner only can we ever hope to rid ourselves of the dishonor and disgrace, as a church, that necessarily attaches to us on account of our connection with the business." [Some other unimportant remarks followed, and he sat down.]

W. A. Smith moved that it lie on the table, merely in view of having it taken up under different circumstances. He disclaimed the intention of avoiding the discussion involved. "That," said he, "is not my way of doing business." The motion was lost.

W. A. Smith. "I dislike very much, or I should say, that I regret very much, that the Conference should not, through courtesy at the request of a member, consent to defer this matter to a period deemed more favorable for its proper investigation. But if I am hurried into

this discussion, although admonished, by the indications around me, of the probable disposition that the Conference will make of this proposition, I shall do the best I can to oppose its adoption.

"It proposes, sir, to incorporate a provision, that looks ultimately to the dismemberment of all who will not comply therewith. Do I understand it correctly? Correct me, if I do not."

Dr. Peck. "It merely proposes to classify the act with other wrong acts, that are named in connection with their results."

W. A. Smith. "But it is to result in dismemberment."

A. D. Peck. "Not unless the offender refuses to reform."

W. A. Smith. "Yes: so I understand it. Now sir, I would ask by what authority this Conference can proceed to introduce into the Discipline a new term of membership, without the consent of the annual conferences, as provided in the restrictive rules. Four years ago this was attempted, in a constitutional way, but failed, because the annual conferences did not consent. [Here Dr. Bangs and others denied the statement. Mr. Smith explained this statement by referring to Dr. Tomlinson's report, and proceeded.] "I do not object to meeting this question fairly and squarely. But the present movement, if I should adopt the language of a certain location in New York, might be called perhaps a "fluxion." It is a measure of policy that seeks especially to avoid the constitutional restriction. And I am uncompromisingly opposed to any attempt to change our Discipline, directly or indirectly, except in conformity with the provisions of the Discipline. If a constitutional majority of the Annual Conferences have not voted for an alteration, so as to make the traffic in ardent spirits a test of membership, then we have no right to make any such law in this body. The question before us, sir, is not whether that traffic is right or wrong; but whether we have authority *as a body*, to make the prosecution of that traffic a test of membership.

"Again, sir, the brethren supposed this traffic to be a great evil. Scarcely a man of reflection will deny that! Reference was made also to the great reformation that has been witnessed in our land. True, sir! A great moral reformation has transpired, producing wonderful effect. But it was without the aid of any legislation by the Methodist Church. The ball of reformation has been struck, and it has reached the farthest section of the country. The cause of Temperance has not needed any such auxiliary in its work. It does not require it now. And it will be found, that great as the evil complained of confessedly is, this proposition will be no remedy for it.

"I remark again, sir — this is in effect a general rule. And however

desirable it may be regarded by many, it is not admissible, for reasons previously given. And now I ask, what is a general rule? The Discipline defines it to be such as God's 'Spirit unites on all truly awakened hearts.' Now I appeal to this body to say if this proposition, which is in effect a 'general rule,' is one of that kind. If so, sir, what is the fact respecting our forefathers, who have preceded us in laying the foundations of our ecclesiastical edifice. Was this written upon their hearts? Then they violated its injunctions, for many of them whom we are all proud, or happy I should say, to honor, were in the habit of using ardent spirits moderately. Are you prepared to charge upon them the violation of conscience enlightened by the spirit of God? I trust not.

"The use of intoxicating liquor is not a crime of the nature of drunkenness or adultery, which every one knows to be written on every truly converted heart. This is an evil only to be felt and realized so far as the light of truth may shine upon the mind in reference to its practical character."

[The fifteen minutes allotted now elapsed. An ineffectual effort was now made to extend the time.] J. A. Collins proposed to defer it and make it the order of the day to-morrow. A. D. Peck was opposed to any interruption of the discussion. J. A. Collins thought it would be better digested by to-morrow. W. A. Smith remarked, "It comes with a very poor grace from those who have their plans and arguments all arranged to urge immediate action, when the opponents of the measure are unprepared. Let me take my own time to prepare in favor of any measure I may wish to secure, then I will show you a willingness to accommodate that you do not manifest. I would do it from a noble generosity of soul that I am proud to manifest." To this A. D. Peck replied, "When we have made special preparation for a discussion, we will defer any subject cheerfully. But although we might be conscious of nobleness and generosity of soul, we would not make any special announcement of it, lest we should fail to make our friends believe it! [Laughter.]

Dr. Bangs was in favor of deferring the discussion until they had heard whether a majority in the several Annual Conferences had voted in favor of changing the "General Rule."

H. Slicer. "I did not know that the subject was coming up. I have made no special preparation for the discussion therefore. It was said by those who are opposed to this provision or the use and traffic of ardent spirits in 1840, that the general rule, as it then was, without any alteration, was sufficiently strong and comprehensive to reach all offenders. Now we are taunted with the constitutional inconsistency of urg-

ing a clause merely explanatory of the rule, as they then professed to understand it. It is probable that when the Committee on Temperance shall report, it will appear that the effort to alter the general rule has proved a failure. Then, if the South was sincere in what they said in 1840, and will act in accordance with it now, we shall agree to put in this explanatory clause. We shall present an unbroken front, a firm phalanx, in favor of the measure. And I have little doubt that when my brother Smith has slept over it, becomes cool, and sober second thought resumes its power, he himself will cheerfully unite with us in voting for its adoption. [The speaker then gave a detail of facts respecting the General Conference of 1840, in failing to change the "General Rule," showing that a constitutional majority of the Annual Conferences and a vote of two-thirds of the constitutional quorum present and voting, was in favor of the change; yet its adoption was prevented by a decision of the Presiding Bishop, that two-thirds of the members elect of the General Conference was requisite. And although the majority had the power to reverse the decision, they did not, and although near 1700 travelling preachers asked for it, the general rule was not restored. In reference to the report of Dr. Tomlinson, he said.]

"And what is the history of that report? Why, sir, it did not find any favor over in Kentucky. For you will see by the vote of that Conference since, that 79 voted to restore Mr. Wesley's rule, while only one opposed. Who that one was who stood alone in his glory, I do not know, nor do I care.

"The truth is, sir, that Methodism has not opened its eyes just now to the enormity of the evil of intemperance. Methodism was right a hundred years ago. But we have gone back. John Wesley, who is, under God, our father as a connection, was in advance of his age on this question. The history of the rule on Temperance, if known would be a curious affair. The original rule is found in the Wesleyan Discipline, and in Mr. Wesley's works, and yet is not in our Discipline. The history and mystery of this rule, if it could be divulged, would, I repeat, be a curious affair.

Mr. ——— rose to a question of order.

President. "Please state it."

Mr. ———. "I wish to know if it is in order to interrupt a brother while speaking and" —

W. A. Smith. "Never mind. Let them go on. They have loaded their guns and want to be firing! After they have expended their ammunition, we will look after the killed and wounded."

H. Slicer. "We don't seek to kill any body, Mr. President. We

seek to save life, by putting out the fire of Methodist distilleries. [He here read a beautiful extract from Dr. Fisk, consisting chiefly of exclamations of surprise at the anomalous character of a rumselling Christian.] He then proceeded. "My brother wants moral suasion. Well, sir, I am willing to extend any amount of succor in the form of moral suasion, to lift the poor drunkard from the gutter even. But for the drunkard maker I would have applied all the power of legal suasion. We abstain totally so as to give the force of our example to sustain the thousands of reformed men who now crowd our churches: for the Temperance Reformation has cleared the heads and steadied the hands of many who have been led to see their need of religion, and have embraced it. Now we wish to give all the force of the example of the church in favor of this cause. But at the present time, in Ohio, there are no less than five distillers in one Methodist class! [Here some one said, "I doubt it." And others responded, "So do I."] "Well," said Mr. Slicer, "I knew it would sound rather grating upon the ears of some. But I have the proof of my statement on the floor, and can produce it, if demanded. Against all such traffickers, whether they sell by the hogshead or the gill, we wish to stand arrayed, and if possible turn back the burning tide that is let loose upon the land, withering every green thing, and hasten on the time when the fires of the last distillery shall go out forever!" Other remarks followed, short and unimportant, and the Conference adjourned.

Here ends the chapter of my reports.

LUCIUS C. MATLACK.

[*Correction.* — I should have placed D. B. Randall of Maine with the few abolitionists who were willing to give the South the issue they demanded last week.

L. C. M.]

Saturday, May 18.

This morning I took my seat as reporter, Br. Matlack having closed his services on yesterday. As Br. M.'s report has been very correct, and has been acknowledged by many members of the Conference to be the best report of the speeches made, I cannot flatter myself that I can win so high a degree of popularity for myself, but I will do the best I can, and will strive to do justice to the Conference, and to the speakers individually.

L.

After the Conference was opened this morning with the usual formalities, a call was made for reports. As no other committee presented

any report, Bishop Soule reported for the committee on a compromise between the North and South. The report was, that no terms of a compromise could be agreed upon by the committee, and, on motion, the report was accepted and the committee discharged. Thus ended the plan for a compromise between the extremes of pro-slavery and abolition, over which anxious thoughts and tearful prayers have been spent. The report was received with no apparent emotion in the Conference, still, it may be that it was that calm which preceded a storm. A few days will determine.

P. P. Sanford called attention to an error which had been reported for the Commercial Advertiser, for which their own official reporter also reported. The error had been copied into many of the other papers with editorial remarks, greatly to the prejudice of the Book Concern in New York. This error consisted of a substitution of the report concerning the Concern in New York, for the report concerning the Concern at Cincinnati, so as to give Cincinnati the credit of the New York Concern, and New York the credit of the Cincinnati Concern. Mr. S. said the same error was printed in their own official report, but that it was detected in season to be corrected. The report of the committee to whom had been referred the subject of a Statistical Chart of Methodism proposed to be published by Rev. J. H. Young, was taken up. The report was highly in favor of Mr. Young's proposed work, recommending its publication in book form rather than in a chart. The report concluded with a resolution instructing the book agents to publish it. After remarks by several speakers, on motion of Dr. Bangs, the whole subject was referred to the book agents, to publish as they saw fit.

A resolution was offered, instructing the Committee on Revisals to inquire into the expediency of striking out that clause in the Discipline which authorizes the preacher to refer the trial of members to the quarterly meeting conference, when he differs from the committee as to the guilt or innocence of the accused. On motion, it was laid on the table.

So much of the report of the Committee on Missions as related to German missions was then called up. That part of the report which recommended the formation of German districts, without reference to the conference boundaries, after considerable discussion of but little interest, was adopted. Another portion of the report recommended that the request of Rev. Mr. Nash, a German missionary in Ohio, to be allowed to visit his native country, should be granted. Dr. Bangs called for the reading of the communication from Mr. Nash, containing his request and a statement of the object he had in view. The reading being objected to by Rev. J. T. Peck, a vote was taken and the communica-

tion ordered to be read. Mr. Collins said that as secretary of the committee, he had left the communication at his room, and the subject was laid upon the table to give him time to obtain it.

Mr. Reed presented the resolutions of the New York Conference on the subject of Slavery and Temperance.

On motion, a committee of five was ordered, to whom should be referred all papers touching the history of any of the deceased Bishops or other preachers, and to whom all preachers and people were requested to communicate any papers or facts in their possession. Said committee to report to the next General Conference.

Mr. Cass of N. H., offered a resolution to go to the Committee on Revisals, touching the action of the quarterly conference, when the preacher refers the trial of a member to that body, the precise character of which the reporter did not hear, owing to too much noise about him. It was laid upon the table.

Mr. Collins having returned with the communication from Mr. Nash, it was read and a discussion followed on the motion to adopt so much of the report as related to Mr. Nash's visit to Germany.

Mr. Hamline took the floor in support of the mission. He said the subject was one of great importance; as there was a constant influx to this country from Germany, it was important to get correct information before the people, before they came here. He said the Governor of a great State said, not long since, Your system alone enables you to keep up with the Pope. The Catholic Bishop, who is the agent of the people, says to his priest, Go to the Rocky Mountains, and he obeys; and the Methodist Bishop says to one of his itinerants, Follow him, and at once he is upon his heels. Mr. H. said it would not do to send him as a missionary, though that was the real object; he must go in the character of an editor, as that would excite no prejudice.

Mr. ——— said he deeply regretted Br. Hamline's injudicious speech, for he considered it such. His speech would be reported, and by tomorrow would be put into the hand of Bishop Hughes, and he would write to his friends in Germany, and stir them up against Mr. Nash in advance of his arrival, and would represent that Mr. Nash was a missionary in disguise.

Mr. Hamline said legal difficulties were his only objection to sending him as a missionary; he wished it known and understood that he went for religious purposes. The motion was adopted.

It was then moved that the book committee at Cincinnati estimate the expenses and pay it out of the book funds.

Dr. Capers objected on the ground that the constitution forbid such use of the funds of the book concern.

Dr. Bangs replied that they had a right to pay editors, for that was done every year; to deny that right would be to deny the book committee the right of carrying on their own operations. Mr. Nash went in the character of an editor, and therefore it was constitutional to pay the expenses out of the book funds.

Mr. ——— said they had paid the expenses of the delegates to General Conference, and that was as far from having constitutional authority as the object now under consideration.

Dr. Capers replied that he knew they had appropriated funds to pay the expenses of the delegates, but he thought they had stretched that business too far already; they had been stretching, and stretching, and he thought they had stretched far enough in that direction, and he was opposed to stretching any more. However, he said, the remarks of Dr. Bangs had relieved him on that point. As Mr. Nash was to go as an editor, it was doubtless constitutional to pay him out of the book funds. But he preferred to call him a missionary; it was a higher object than was implied by the term agent or editor.

A motion was made to restrict the expenses to one thousand dollars but was laid on the table, and the resolution was adopted. The whole report was then adopted.

Dr. Bangs then suggested that the reporters should not report all that had been said on the subject.

Dr. Capers said he might have some delicacy on the subject, so far as concerned his language and style of expressing his thoughts on the subject, but as to the thoughts themselves, he was willing the world should hear all he had said.

A resolution was then introduced, to give one copy of all the books published at the Book Room to each college and seminary under the control of the M. E. Church. Mr. Winner, of N. J., moved an amendment, by adding *and to every Methodist preacher who is in the regular itinerant work*. A motion was made to lay the amendment on the table, and was lost.

Mr. ——— said he hoped some one would speak in favor of the amendment, and speak powerfully. There is, said he, no reason for the resolution, which is not equally good for the amendment. Who got up the Book Concern? Was it our literary institution? It did not acknowledge any such parentage, or doubtless it would be ready to administer to its parent. The preachers were the father of the Concern; they had started it, supported it, and watched over its interests: men

who had worn themselves out in the cause of Methodism, travelling over mountains and through vales. On what principle does the resolution propose to give the books to the literary institutions? Is it as a just due — then does justice require that they should be given to the preachers. Is it as a charity — it would be a greater charity to give them to the preachers, many of whom are unable to purchase. If a liberal donation is to be made — the preachers need it most, many of whom have but a few dollars, and some a few coppers.

Dr. Bangs doubted the constitutional power to make any such appropriation of the funds of the Book Concern. He said they published books enough, so that one copy of each publication would amount to twenty dollars per year; and as there were about four thousand preachers, it would cost *eighty thousand dollars per annum* to give each preacher one copy! If it was made to include all the works that have been published and are now on hand, it would cost two or three hundred thousand dollars. He hoped the Conference would not put their hands in and take out such an amount of funds.

Mr. ——— said he hoped we should not follow the example of Congress. They were provided with stationary at public expense, and they classed a variety of things under this head, *guns* and other articles, and called it all stationary. One member, who had voted an amount of money into his own pocket, was called to an account by his constituents, when he returned home, to whom he replied, if your gun snaps once, you would not break it to pieces, but pick your flint and try again. He thought if the object was to spread light, a better use could be made of the funds. It was holding out an inducement for Conferences to get up institutions for the sake of obtaining the boon. The resolution was laid on the table.

A resolution was then offered by W. W. Ninde, of the Black River Conference, directing the Committee on the Book Concern to inquire into the propriety of securing an engraving of a portrait of the late Rev. Squire Chase, for the Quarterly Review. After some little discussion, the motion was withdrawn.

A resolution was then offered, instructing the Committee on Revisals to inquire into the propriety of increasing the amount of the preachers' salaries. Laid upon the table.

A resolution was offered, instructing the Committee on Revisals to consider the propriety of inserting in the Discipline a rule forbidding the preachers re-baptizing such as have been baptized in infancy, or by sprinkling or pouring. Adopted.

A resolution was offered, instructing the Committee on Sabbath

Schools to consider the propriety of the appointment of a board by the General Conference, to take charge of the Sabbath School department, and of withdrawing from all other associations. After discussion, it was laid upon the table.

Conference adjourned.

Monday, May 20.

The committee to whom was referred the memorial of W. J. Waller, of Virginia Conference, reported. The report was, that it was unnecessary to answer the inquiries of the memorialist; that the Virginia Conference erred in admitting the appeal of a layman; and that there was nothing in the conduct of the editor of the Richmond Christian Advocate that required the interference of the General Conference. Laid upon the table.

Bishop Soule addressed the Conference in relation to Rev. Mr. Sargent, who was his travelling companion in Europe. He said Mr. Sargent served him to the utmost of his ability, as a son in the gospel, and attended his person constantly, not being absent from him one night in six months. He concluded by stating that Mr. Sargent drew no salary while absent, and suggested that the Conference should make some compensation. The subject was referred to the delegation of the Baltimore Conference, to which Mr. S. belongs.

An address was presented to the Conference from Dr. Bond on the subject of the publication of Coke and Asbury's Notes on the Discipline, asking that they might be published and bound with the Discipline. After being opposed by D. A. Shepherd, Dr. Bangs, and Dr. Peck, the subject was laid on the table.

Mr. Collins, of the Baltimore Conference, then introduced the following resolution:

"Whereas a report is in circulation that one of the Superintendents has become connected with slavery, and whereas this Conference has a right to know the fact in the case, therefore

"*Resolved*, That the Committee on Episcopacy examine into the case, and report the facts to-morrow morning,"

Bishop Hedding remarked that a rule of discipline required that in the General Conference every thing be considered as in the immediate presence of God, and especially at this time, and on this subject, was it necessary for every one to be careful not to speak any word which could not be met at the bar of God and which would be calculated to injure any part of the church.

Mr. Collins remarked that he did not offer the resolution with a view to injure the church, and he would try to indulge in no words or feelings which he could not meet in peace at the last day.

Mr. Dunwody thought the committee would not be prepared to report so soon as that, as there was a wide difference of opinion among them, which would produce considerable discussion.

Several persons replied that it would be of no use to discuss the subject in the committee, as it would have to be discussed again in the Conference. The facts were all that was necessary to report. The resolution was then adopted. So we are to have this case to-morrow morning, but what will be the end of it, who can tell?

So much of the report of the Committee on Revisals as relates to local preachers, was then taken up. After an unimportant discussion it was laid on the table, for the purpose of taking up the report of the committee to whom had been referred a memorial, asking the General Conference to fix a course of study for local preachers. This last report proposed several important alterations. It provided that when exhorters are licensed, they shall be directed to the course of study which shall be prepared by the annual conference for local preachers.

Dr. Pierce, the younger, opposed to this part of the report, on the ground that it would not be carried out. He was opposed to loading the Discipline with provisions which were never likely to be executed. If this was adopted, it would prove a complete farce.

Mr. Slicer opposed the report. He said it was an infraction upon the original principles of Methodism to require a literary qualification for exhorters.

J. T. Peck, of the Troy Conference, replied with much spirit and effect. He said that if we would improve the ministry, we must lay the foundation right and see that candidates commence their improvement with the commencement of their public labors. It would be no dishonor to the church to require a higher degree of intellectual culture for exhorters than what had been heretofore required. He thought the doctrine that ignorance is the mother of devotion, would do better for another communion than for the M. E Church.

Dr. Bangs opposed it on the ground that to require a literary standard for local preachers and exhorters, would cut off all these classes among the colored people in the South. They are useful among their own color, but cannot be required to make any literary improvement. He closed by moving to lay the whole subject on the table. His motion was lost.

Mr. ——— supported the measure, and declared that he could not

see one of the difficulties in the way, which others thought they saw

Mr. Winans opposed with spirit. He declared that the measure was opposed to, and subversive of the whole genius of Methodism. There were now a number of doctors of divinity in the church, who would have been excluded, had such a rule existed when they were introduced. He thought the old plan was the best: a plan which had astonished the world, by showing that the wisdom of the world is not necessary to preach the gospel. If God called men he would license them, whether they could read or not. Some of the best preachers could not read when they commenced preaching. Mr. W. moved a postponement, which was lost.

Mr. Power, of North Ohio Conference, supported the measure. He replied to the objection that it would cut off the colored exhorters and preachers, by saying that the annual conferences could judge of that for themselves. The conferences would prescribe the course of study, and would suit it to circumstances within their own bounds. If some of the conferences in the South and West could not carry out the system, it was no reason why other conferences should not be favored with it, who could, and who were anxious to carry it out. He said, when any improvement of the kind was attempted, it was the course of some, to set up the cry of old fashioned Methodism, and John Nelson; but he said the times had altered. He did not doubt that John Nelson was a useful man, though unlearned; nor did he doubt the policy of the church in those early times in licensing such men: but, said he, in those times the distinction between truth and error was so plain that any mind could see it, but now it was otherwise; error had become learned and subtle, and had even put on the appearance of an angel of light.

Mr. Griffith said he was quite embarrassed, as Br. Winans had said what he intended to say, and said it better than he could. He was opposed to the measure. If they had come there to fix a standard of literature to which a man must come before he can be licensed to preach, let us go at it like men; let us lay the foundation broad. Let it be settled that no man can preach among us, until he has read so much Latin and so much Greek. But what should be done with the colored population? It would destroy the work among them. He hoped they should not forget the rock from whence they were hewn, or the pit from whence they were digged. God had called many men to preach the gospel who did not know one letter from another, and it was not for them to say they should not have a license.

J. Perkins, of N. H., said there was no force in the objection that it

would embarrass the colored people, as it was left to the annual conferences to prescribe the course of study. Each conference could suit itself; if colored people could not obtain an education, the conference within the bounds of which they live would prescribe no course of study for them, but that was no reason why something should not be done for those parts of the work where it was called for. It left every conference to suit itself, and he thought they ought not to find fault with that.

Mr. Wiley, of Indiana, said the *people* were anxious that something should be done on the subject.

J. Finley, of South Ohio Conference, who had been trying for some time to obtain the floor now succeed, and said he was glad he had got his bag to the hopper at last, and as it was not very large it would soon run through. He was willing to go for the improvement of the local preachers, but he thought they had better let the exhorters alone. Some of them could not read a word, and yet God blessed their labors, and sinners were converted. He thought it right for the annual conferences to fix some standard for candidates for deacon's and elder's orders, because these offices were conferred by them, but they had no control over exhorters and local preachers, and had better let them alone.

Dr. Capers opposed the report on the ground that the most friendly feeling did not now exist between travelling and local preachers, and he thought it would tend to increase jealousy.

Mr. Ferguson of New York, explained the report. He said it did not touch exhorters, further than to require that their attention be directed to the course of study prescribed for the preachers; it did not contemplate making them responsible for an acquaintance with these studies. He stated further, that it did not touch those who are now local preachers, but was to be regarded as a rule for future action in making local preachers. He added that there was no reason to apprehend dissatisfaction on the part of the local preachers and laity, for the proposed change originated in a quarterly meeting conference.

J. Porter, of New England, supported the measure. He said exhorters, when they were licensed, desired to be put in possession of the studies which they ought to pursue to promote their usefulness. Some would not study anything, they were all for the power, but cared nothing about the letter; but those who study, and would be benefitted by the proposed measures. Dr. Capers opposed; he said it would give him great pain to have that measure adopted by the Conference. The principle involved was a fundamental one in Methodism. He was opposed to fixing any standard of literature for local preachers.

Mr. Early, of Virginia, opposed on the ground that it would produce an impression that there is a general dissatisfaction with the policy of the Church. He had never known so many changes proposed before.

That part of the report relating to exhorters was then laid upon the table, and the part respecting local preachers was recommitted.

Another report of the Committee on Revisals was then taken up, which recommended such an alteration as to make local preachers liable to be arrested and tried, where the offence is committed, though their membership be on some other and distant charge. After considerable discussion of but little interest, it was recommitted.

A report was then taken up, which recommended such a change as would prohibit the Bishops from appointing a preacher a Presiding Elder for more than four years in succession. They can now be appointed to the same district but four years, but the present change is designed to prevent their holding the office but four years.

The change was opposed by Dr. Capers. He said that the proposed change struck at a vital principle of Methodism. Some call Presiding Elders a fifth wheel, but he thought them a very essential wheel. In some conferences the change might not embarrass, but in others it would be otherwise. In some conferences there were not men enough capable of filling the office to allow of the change proposed.

Mr. Early, of Va. opposed it on the ground that it would produce the impression that rotation in office is essential. He also declared that it would touch a vital principle of the whole system, the Episcopacy.

Mr. Finley of South Ohio, opposed the change. He had hoped never to see the day when there would be the least pointing towards the suspended resolutions of 1824; but he thought the proposed change looked that way. The Bishop, he said, was the best judge who could fill the office, and to whom the interests of the Church can be committed with the greatest safety. The Conference adjourned without taking any vote on the subject.

Tuesday, May 21.

Minutes read and approved.

The Committee on the expenses of the delegates, reported that if the surplus fund in the hands of the delegates from the Georgia, Virginia, and South Carolina Conferences were paid to them, they could relieve brother J. D. Patton of the fifty dollars of which he had been robbed belonging to this fund, and still pay all the expenses without drawing

on the book fund. Dr. Sargent, the younger, of Georgia, moved that the delegates of the Georgia Conference be allowed to settle with their own Conference. He assigned as a reason that the Georgia Conference had passed a resolution that they would not receive funds from the book concern to pay the expenses of the delegates, and this was stated to the people when the collections were taken up. The Chair pronounced the motion out of order at that time, as the report was before the house.

The report was then laid upon the table.

The Committee on Revisals reported on several points which had been submitted through petitions, resolutions and otherwise. The subjects were the restoration of preachers that have been expelled; the trial of preachers and of appeals; requiring the number of churches to be reported as well as the number of members; conference funds, and regulations concerning superannuated preachers. On all these points the Committee reported against the changes asked for, and the report was adopted.

The report recommitted yesterday on the subject of the trial of local preachers, was then presented. The report provides for the trial of a local preacher either where he belongs, or where the offence is committed, when it is committed away from the charge to which he belongs. It was adopted.

The Committee on Itinerancy, to whom was referred so much of the Bishop's address as related to that subject, reported. This report descants upon the importance of the itinerancy, notices some indications of its decline in some sections, recommends every effort to check all such tendencies, recommends the continuation of the Presiding Elder's office as of vital importance, proposes that the Bishops appoint none to that office but efficient men. They should not be superannuated men, nor business men merely, but good pulpit men, capable of taking part in prayer meetings, and they should spend several days on each charge at the time of quarterly meeting, by which every quarterly meeting would be rendered a protracted meeting; this would save the preacher the trouble of obtaining other help. The report concluded by recommending several alterations.

1. That a presiding Elder, after being on a District four years, shall not be returned to it under six years.

2. That no district shall contain more than twelve charges.

3. That a preacher shall not be appointed to the same station more than two years out of six, nor more than four years out of six in the same city. The report lies over one day, by a rule of conference.

The Committee on Episcopacy reported, recommending the appropri-

ation of ninety dollars to pay the travelling expenses of Bishop Roberts, who has died since the last General Conference.

The same Committee reported on the case of Bishop Andrew, in accordance with instructions given yesterday. The committee presented a written statement of the Bishops, detailing the facts of his connection with slavery, which are as follows:

1. Some years since an old lady willed him a slave to be sent to Liberia when she should be nineteen years old, if she was willing to go, but if she was not willing, then he was to keep her and make her as free as the laws of the State would allow. When she became nineteen years old, she refused to go to Liberia, and consequently remained with him. He derives no profit from her, she lives in her own house upon his land, and always has been and still is free to go to a free State when she chooses.

2. The mother of his former wife willed her a slave, a boy, and as his wife died without a will, the slave by the law of the State became his, but he is willing to let him go to a free State, as soon as he thinks him capable of providing for himself, or so soon as he has security that he shall be provided for. He cannot emancipate him in the State, as the law forbids it.

3. His present wife had a number of slaves; he did not consider them hers, and was unwilling to become the legal owner of them; he therefore had them secured to her by a deed of trust. He has no legal control over them, and his wife could not emancipate them if she wished to.

Such were the simple statements of the reports, and on motion of Mr. Collins, it was laid upon the table, and made the order of the day for tomorrow.

The report concerning a course of study for local preachers, recommended yesterday, was again presented in an amended form, and lies over one day.

A communication was then read from Doct. Bond, in which it was stated that a report was in circulation that the Northern members of the General Conference had laid a plan to force the South to secede, and that Doct. Bond's name had been given as authority for the report. It was moved and carried that the Doctor be heard on the subject.

He said the report came to his ears last evening for the first time. He pronounced it false as far as he was concerned. He had never heard a man from the North, East, or West, intimate any such thing. He said the motives which the story assigned for such a course were more unworthy than the plan itself, if it existed. He was the last man to be

knowing to such a plot and not expose the treason. The day when the cloud that now rested upon the ark of their Zion should be raised, should be a jubilee with him and his family; he would teach his children to observe it, and they should teach it to their children, that it might be remembered for generations to come.

Mr. Sehon, of Ohio said that there was no calamity which he should so deeply lament as secession or division at this General Conference, and should such a thing take place, they would all lament it with tears the rest of their days.

Dr. Bangs said that it had been reported that a plan was laid by the North to force the South to secede, and then seize upon the funds of the Book Concern. He pronounced it false, and declared that he did not believe that any such plan existed, or that there would be any division.

Mr. Dow of N. H. and Mr. Smith of Va. both attempted to obtain the floor. Mr. Early moved that Mr. Smith have leave to speak, as no one could speak without liberty, there being no motion before the house. The motion was put and carried.

Mr. Smith said, if he was implicated he would say nothing, as he had no doubt he had friends enough to speak for him; but as the report did not implicate him, he would say a word for those who were implicated. He said the question had not been met, in the remarks that had been made. He had never heard that any plan had been formed before Conference, or even since Conference he did not believe there had been; but things had been said by some in their personal addresses to Bishop Andrew, which went to prove that they were determined to pursue a course which would drive the South off. They have said what implies it; and if they will deny it, we are prepared to prove it.

A motion was then made that Mr. Dow have liberty to speak, upon which Mr. Dow rose and addressing the chair, said, "Sir, I rose to speak, and addressed the chair, and he gave me his eye, but he gave the floor to another, and I have nothing further to say." The motion that he have liberty to speak was then withdrawn.

Notices were then given that there would be a meeting of the Northern delegation in the afternoon at four o'clock, and that certain brethren from the South would attend it, and all were invited, if they were disposed to come in. Dr. Capers then gave notice that the Southern delegates would meet in the basement at three o'clock. These were understood to be meetings preparatory for the order of the day for to-morrow. There was obviously deep excitement while these things were transpiring.

Bishop Soule then addressed the Conference in relation to the life of

Bishop McKendree, which a former General Conference requested him to write. He commenced by saying that when he spoke in that body, he spoke to be heard by that body, and he did not care to be heard by any but the members of the General Conference, and he should speak no louder than was necessary to be heard by them. [Quite a compliment to the spectators.] The Bishop then made his communication, which was, that he had not written the life of Bishop McKendree, and could not and attend to the duties of his Episcopal office.

Bishop Waugh then made a few remarks on the subject of granting the floor when claimed by different persons, which were suggested, no doubt by the remarks of Mr. Dow.

Mr. Bangs then offered a resolution, which was adopted, that Bishop Soule be requested to give to the Conference at some convenient time, an account of his travels in Europe.

The delegates from the Methodist Church in Canada took leave of the Conference in an address. Mr. Ryerson addressed the Conference first, and then Mr. Green.

Dr. Luckey followed them by a few remarks.

The appointment of the committee to receive all papers concerning the lives of the deceased Bishops and preachers was called for. The report was reconsidered, and so amended as to make the committee consist of one member in each Conference, to be appointed by the delegates of the several Conferences respectively.

Report No. 2, from the Committee on Revisals, was then taken up. This was the report under discussion when the Conference adjourned yesterday. A motion had been made to indefinitely postpone, which was debateable; to stop which a motion had been made to lay the first motion on the table, pending which, the Conference adjourned. The motion to lay on the table was first put, and lost, and the discussion was then resumed on the motion for indefinite postponement. The report recommended that the Bishops be restricted, as not to be allowed to keep the same person in the presiding elder's office for more than four years.

Dr. Peck took the floor. He said he did not rise to advocate the measure recommended in the report; but he did not like to see a report which had passed through a committee, disposed of so hastily as that had been attempted to be disposed of. He wished to state the ground on which the committee had made such a report. It was on the recommendation of two respectable annual conferences. It was a fact, in the opinion of many, that an evil existed which needed correcting. The office was greatly embarrassed in some conferences: some persons had

held the office for fifteen years. The reasons were not known, or could not be appreciated, and it was a bad influence on the men and on the office. With these remarks he was willing to leave it with the Conference to dispose of it as they pleased.

Mr. Winner remarked that he would say nothing, were it not that the measure had been recommended by his conference; and believing the change called for, he felt it his duty to make some remarks upon the subject. He would reply to what had been said on the other side yesterday. It had been objected that it would lead to rotation in office. Well, he could not see what danger there was in that. He might not guess why brethren were opposed to rotation in office, but he would guess that it would not hurt our purity or harmony, to equalize the joys and sorrows of our glorious itinerancy. Addressing the Episcopacy, he said; brethren appear to fear that we shall come in contact with your very highly respected and venerable selves. I have no doubt but they are sincere, but their fears are misplaced. We are Bishop men. We believe the Bishops would lay down all their power, if the interests of the church would admit of it. The Bishops wanted no power only what would enable them to act for the best interests of the church—what would enable them to treat them all alike, giving them all an equal chance to improve their minds, improve their gifts, and get an equal amount of bread and butter. [Laughter.] We who never were, and never expect to be presiding elders, are told that the office is a hard one; that it is full of trials, but empty of honor and dollars. It may be so, but one thing I cannot understand, and that is, why they should be so willing to bear such a burden so long. Some had held the office for twenty-five years. Why should they hold on so long? He could not tell, but he was inclined to believe they found honey in the cup after all. He said they respected the fathers, they loved and venerated the Bishops, but they did not and never expected they should believe in the system of keeping the same men in office until they were worn out.

Mr. Winans opposed the change. He said he did not wish to speak for the sake of the benefits of rotation in office. The question with him was, what is for the glory of God. Nor would he meet the insinuations that had been thrown out, that presiding elders opposed it for the sake of the office. He was opposed because the change was not necessary; the Bishops were not bound to keep a presiding elder in office more than four years, or more than one year, or more than six months, if they saw cause for removing. There could be no call for it then, unless it were on the ground that the Bishops asked to be released from

the responsibility of determining how long it is proper to continue a presiding elder in office; and turning to the bishops, he said, with great force, we are unwilling to release you from that responsibility; we gave you that office for the purpose of exercising that responsibility. We are willing to leave it, and we think it ought to be left, to your godly judgements. Many conferences would be ruined by the change; he could not speak for the conferences where they had multiplied their preachers into a great disposition to the membership: but in the South and West, where the circuits and districts were large, and the preachers but few, he knew the proposed change would greatly embarrass the work.

Mr. Cartwright was opposed to the proposed change. He regarded the measure as belonging to the family of little brats that have been hissing against the Episcopacy for the last twenty-five years. He said he had been greatly depressed in his mind because he could not raise himself into the notice of the Episcopacy. He had never asked for the office of presiding elder; he had always taken this office as he would take his cross. When I see how many flippant young men there are, with learning and towering talents, who think themselves so capable of filling the office, I say to myself, what a poor old man I am to be a presiding elder. But then he said there was some consolation in reflecting that these newly-fledged young men were not all they thought they were. [Laughter.] He was opposed to the measure, because it would lead to too much change. If these young men were put in office, it would soon be found that they would not answer, and the old men would have to be called back, and unnecessary changes would be the result. He said rotation in office would do very well in politics, might answer very well as the watchword of a political party: but hoped the church of God was not to be turned into one of these stark naked republics. [Great laughter.] He knew how to make allowance for the restlessness of young men; and it was the hardest work in the world to make himself believe that he was getting old; however, he had once been young, and knew how young men felt. They feel, said he, that we are in their way; and if they could pile us upon a wheelbarrow, and roll us off the track, I have no doubt it would brighten their prospects. [Great laughter.] He did not know where the conferences in this section got so many tall, talented young men. In the Valley of the Mississippi it was otherwise; and if they would come there, he would, with the consent of the Bishop, give them his office world without end. [Laughter.] And when they got there, if they did not like the country, he would give them a pitch towards Oregon or Cal-

ifornia, where they could raise a colony, and be kings over their own world. [Great and long laughter.]

Dr. Bangs thought he might be allowed to speak, as he had been a presiding elder but five years in his life. He was opposed to the change. He thought it would greatly embarrass the Episcopacy, and injure the work. There were many preachers who were good presiding elders, that would not do for other posts. He thought the difficulty would not be so great to find men for presiding elders, as it would to fill other important posts, if the change prevailed.

Mr. Porter, of the New Jersey Conference, said an evil existed from a long continuance of the same person in the office, and it ought to be cured in some way. He said it was injurious to the office and the men who fill it, to the preachers and the people. Some men, he said, might discharge the duties of the office acceptably and profitably to preachers and people for twenty years; but he believed there were but few who could do it. The evil had been felt, and they had spoken on the subject. It was time to wake up and do something on the subject; for if they did not, next General Conference would hear a louder voice.

J. B. McFerrin, of Tennessee Conference, said he was not a presiding elder, but he hoped the measure would not prevail. It was impossible that it should be carried out in some of the conferences. There were not ordained men enough in some of the conferences to admit of so frequent changes. He had been informed that in one instance, an ordained man could not be found, and a man was put in charge of a district, who was not ordained. He said there was one way to cure aspiring young men, and that was, to put them in presiding elders, and you would hear no more from them after they had the office one term. He said the cry had been, that the Bishops had too much power; but he hoped they would exercise more power, and put out and put in presiding elders as the interests of the church required, and there would be no need of the proposed change.

Mr. Slicer, of the Baltimore conference, was in favor of the proposed change; he was not in favor of the suspended resolutions, to which allusion had been made; nor did he see that there was any connection between them and the measure now proposed. He believed that additional guards and restraints were necessary. If the arguments proved any thing on the other side, they proved too much. It was urged that the Bishops were the best judges in the case, and it ought to be left to their godly judgments. If this proved anything, it proved that the whole subject should be left to the Bishops without any restrictions. The Baltimore Conference was not behind in their attachment to Episcopacy.

cy ; it was the old battle ground on that subject and he thought it was not time for old presiding elders to throw out that this movement was radicalism. He said he did not believe the office was desirable, but somehow, men generally liked to hold on upon it. He could not tell how it was in Miss., but he knew that while presiding elders staid on good districts their full time, four years, two years was as long as they could be kept upon poor districts. He had no doubt that they bear the office as a cross, and yet it looked a little strange that they always bore it longer on a good district than on a poor one ; it might be the godly judgements of the Bishops that made the difference. He could tell his brother what he had seen, and what perhaps may have happened in Mississippi : a man sometimes gets a farm and locates his family upon it, and does not move them for many years ; he can travel a district any where within a hundred miles. There may be some log-rolling among the presiding elders ; if the presiding elder is not in conference when his character is examined, and his usefulness inquired into, his fellow presiding elders are present. So when a man's time is out upon a district, it is asked what shall be done with him, when another presiding elder suggests that he would be the right man for his district, and of course, he must go to the district thus vacated. Thus by log-rolling, they may keep each other in office. He said there were cases in which men had kept their families located in one city for fourteen years. He did not believe in this way of doing business. If the office was as hard as they pretended, shift it from one to another, and let them take turns in wearing the saddle, and in carrying the bridle. He would reply to what had been said, that men would do for the office that could not fill another place. This, he said, was the curse of the whole concern. No man was fit for a district who was not fit for any circuit or station. A man might be capable of presiding in the quarterly meeting conferences, and attending to the business ; but if he was not capable of supplying a circuit or station, the people would not be interested or profited by his visits, and he repeated, that the appointment of such a man to the presiding eldership was the greatest curse of the whole concern ; it was enough to break the office down before heaven and earth. Mr. Slicer added that he had no hope that the resolution would prevail, but he believed it would, if all the presiding elders in the Conference would ask to be excused from voting. [Laughter.]

The hour having expired, the Conference adjourned.

Wednesday, May 22.

A report was presented from the Committee on Sunday Schools and Tracts. It was a long document, and occupies common ground in the main. It lies over according to rule.

The Book Committee also presented a report which lies over.

The order of the day was then taken up, which was the report on Bishop Andrew's connection with slavery.

Mr. Griffith, of the Baltimore Conference, presented a resolution of the following import :

Whereas, it has been the uniform policy and undeviating practice of the M. E. Church not to ordain a slaveholder a bishop, and whereas, James O. Andrew, one of the bishops of the M. E. Church, has become a slaveholder, thereby rendering himself unable to discharge the duties of a general Superintendent, and whereas, he was nominated by the South, and was supported by Northern votes, and was not connected with slavery at the time of his election, therefore

Resolved, That Bishop Andrew be respectfully and affectionately requested to resign.

Mr. Griffith said he hoped they should all avoid any improper feeling during the discussion. He had spent the prime of his life and the strength of his manhood in the service of the Church, and he had never seen or known such a state of affairs before; their position was peculiar, and he hoped they should meet the crisis like men, and like Christians. He also hoped that they would understand the true issue, for there was danger of misapprehending the nature of the case, and the principles involved. He said that men are wont to throw a kind of mystery around the office of a bishop. It was not so in the beginning, but since the third century, a cloud of mystical glory had been thrown around the office of bishop, behind which men must not look but with awe. But whatever others considered a bishop, we do not, and cannot consider him in any other light than as the highest officer of the General Conference. He was that, and no more than that. Look at the origin of the office among us and we shall be confirmed in this view. Look to John Wesley, who was probably not able to disabuse his own great mind of the prejudices of his education until the day of his death, and we find nothing in the man, or in the office he created, above an elder or presbyter. Look to Mr. Asbury, who did more to spread and establish Methodism than any other man has ever done in America, and we see that he refused to accept of the appointment of Mr. Wesley to the office, until he was elected by the General Conference. This all proved that from whatever source the minister, as such

derived his office and authority, the bishop derived his from the General Conference; the General Conference was the author of the bishop, and the bishop was the creator of the General Conference. Mr. G. said, at the time the General Conference created the office, they were not a representative body; all the preachers met together to consult and make rules; but as they increased in numbers, this was found to be inconvenient, and hence the present mode of a representative government was established. When this was done, the body of elders restricted those who should be delegated, that is, the General Conference, declaring that they should not do away the episcopal office, but while they thus restricted the Conference, they reserved to themselves the right of abolishing it altogether whenever they shall see fit. This proves that the office has been created by the ministers among themselves, and that they can do it away when they please; and if they can do the office away altogether, they can certainly do it away with reference to an individual who holds the office; and if the Conference has a right to take away the office for improper conduct, which, is not an immorality, they have a right to ask the bishop to resign.

Mr. G. repeated that he hoped the true issue would not be overlooked. We are not, said he, trying an impeachment; no charge of immorality is preferred, it is simply a question between the conference and one of its officers. The question is, has the conference a right to regulate their own officers? Suppose one becomes alienated in mind so as to disqualify him for the work, would not the conference have a right to remove him, and put another in his place? If so, they could do it for any other embarrassment which disqualifies him for the duties of the office. Must a man disqualified be continued until a charge of immorality can be brought against him? He thought not. At this point it was announced that the speaker's time was out.

It was then moved to suspend the rule limiting the speakers in time during discussion of the subject under consideration.

Mr. Early, of Va., hoped the motion would prevail. He wished to hear all the North had to say. Mr. Slicer, of Baltimore, hoped the motion would not prevail. If it did, they might all write to their families that they would be at home on the fourth of July.

Mr. Collins hoped the rule would be suspended; the subject he said, was all important, and they ought to have a free discussion.

Dr. Olin said that more was involved than appeared in the special issue of the resolution. He was sorry to hear brethren drop expressions which implied that the mind of the conference was made up. He wished to hear all that can be said on both sides, and hoped the restric-

tion would be taken off. He had a vote to give, and he could not give that vote without first giving his reasons. It was a question they had got to meet another day, and it was not best that they should act without understanding the reasons, and without taking time to express them.

Mr. Spencer, of Pittsburg, said he wished a free discussion as much as any one, but he thought it would be better to give all the members a chance to speak, than to have one occupy four hours, and the rest say nothing, for which reason he hoped the restriction would not be taken off.

Mr. Winans, of Miss. hoped the restriction would be taken off. He said it was not a trial, that there were no charges preferred. He wished the spectators to understand that.

Mr. Winner, of N. J., hoped the restriction would not be taken off. He said the debate could be free without, they could suspend it in particular cases when it should be necessary.

The vote was then taken, and the restriction was taken off.

Mr. Griffith then resumed his argument. He said the ministerial office does not involve the appeal of Bishops; it is true a man must be a minister to be a Bishop, as none but a minister can do the work of a Bishop; but being ordained a Bishop does not confer any additional ministerial power on even the rights and office of a Bishop; a man is made a Bishop by the election of the conference; he is chosen as the chief of his equals, and as a minister he is no more than an equal, but as an officer of the General Conference he is more. They are not an order separated from and above elders. By the resolution we do not touch Bishop Andrew as a minister, but only as a Bishop. You know, said the speaker, that he has disqualified himself for the work, owing to the excitement that prevails on the subject of slavery, and let him resign and give place for another. If I believed he could be acceptable to the people, I would not put a hand upon him; I love him, and I respect him as a Bishop, but he has voluntarily taken upon himself an embarrassment which disqualifies him for the work of a general superintendent. Mr. G. entreated the Conference to keep the true issue before their minds; we have been embarrassed in our work by an officer, and the question is, can we not correct the difficulty? Let it be understood that his character as a minister is not before the Conference, we propose to act with reference to him only as an officer of this body.

Mr. Longstreet, of Georgia, moved to amend the preamble by striking out the words, "become a slaveholder," and inserting in the place, "become connected with slavery." The amendment was admitted.

Dr. Luckey called for the reading of the document, and it was read.

Bishop Soule then addressed the Conference. He said, I rise with a perfect calmness of spirit as I ever possessed on any occasion in my life. I have been the subject of mental distress, but the time of my bitterness has passed by. After having done what I can, and prayed to God to preserve peace, I have committed it to a suprintending Providence, and shall wait the result with perfect calmness. I have no personal interests whatever to secure. I am willing to be immolated, but I cannot be but upon the altar of the M. E. Church; I cannot be immolated on the altar of the North nor on the altar of the South, but only upon the altar of the whole Church. The Bishop said he had not risen to touch the question, but to suggest to the body some considerations which might have an influence on the mode of conducting the discussion. I speak to men of age and of thought, who have analyzed human nature, and canvassed civil and ecclesiastical polity, and what is more, I speak to Christian ministers. I speak also to young men, whose time and opportunities have not been so favorable for grappling with these great questions. Now you will allow me to say that I hope to hear the voice of age and experience. I beseech you, by the love you bear to our Zion, by a voice from the tomb of Wesley and of Asbury and of all the fathers, be calm, be cool, be deliberate. You are before several tribunals. You are before the tribunal of the spectators in the gallery, and if they cannot judge of the merits of the question, their enlightened minds will judge you, and decide whether or not you manifest a Christian spirit. We stand distinguished; no Protestant denomination but our own, I believe, has any legislation on the subject of slavery. You are also before the tribunal of the whole church, and the church will judge your actions and your spirit on this occasion. You are before the tribunal of public opinion; statesmen and civilians will judge you. And by what rule will they judge you? Not by the rule that shall be applied at the judgement of the last day, but by the Discipline will they judge you, by the legislation of the church will they compare your decision. I have only to add — and I will take my seat not without solicitude and deep anxiety, but perfectly calm — conduct with decorum. I love to hear hard arguments in soft words. Arguments are proportionately strong as they are conveyed in soft words. The power of an argument does not lie in loud speaking. A loud voice indicates passion. Meet and refute arguments if you can, but do it in a Christian spirit; then, whatever report may go out, it will be that we have conducted like Christians.

Dr. Durbin called attention to the report of the committee on which

the resolution before the house was based, for the purpose of having it understood that the Bishop did acknowledge that he did become a legal slaveholder.

P. P. Sanford, of N. Y., said in order to prevent all unnecessary discussion, it was necessary to keep the true issue and the reasons for it in view. The only debateable point was the expediency of making the request to Bishop Andrew to resign. The right to make the request could not be denied. What they might see fit to do after, was not now under consideration. He believed it expedient to make the request. In a majority of the conferences, unless something was done, he said, they must sustain great loss; it cannot be prevented. If nothing is done, our enemies will exert a powerful influence to destroy our beloved Zion; it was on this ground and this only, that he wished to rest the expediency of the matter. He looked to another quarter with strong desire to prevent evils that might follow the measure proposed; he would be glad to wave it if he could, and leave Bishop Andrew as he now is, one of the Bishops of the M. E. Church, but it cannot be done without great evil to the church. To prevent evil in the South, he wished to have it done with a full and unequivocal declaration that the action does not effect the ministerial character of the Bishop. I do not wish brethren who live where they are embarrassed with slavery, to enjoy any the less privileges on that account, but we are compelled to the measure to prevent our enemies from getting an advantage, but I can assure our brethren that we do not undervalue the Christian and ministerial character of Bishop Andrew, or any of them, on account of their being embarrassed with slavery.

Mr. Winans, of Miss., said he must put in a disclaimer against what the Bishop's remarks might imply, namely, that if he spake loud he would be in a passion. He must speak loud; it was natural to him. But still he was perfectly calm; he did not know but it was the calm of despair. He said he did not pretend to deny that they had a right to ask Bishop Andrew to resign. He should raise no argument on that point. If one of the Bishops was alienated in mind, as the brother from Baltimore had supposed, they would have a right to request him to resign, whether he was capable of giving an answer or not. Nor did he deny the right of every brother to give his reason for this novel course in the history of Methodism. But he claimed the right of criticising their reasons. He would try to use hard arguments, and not hard words, or if he was compelled to use some hard terms, he would try not to do it with hard feelings. He said he should not now reply to the arguments that had been advanced, but examine the resolution itself.

He affirmed that the doctrine of the resolution was not true. It was not true that there was any usage of the church against the election of a slaveholding Bishop; it was a fact that a slaveholder never had been elected to that office, but that did not make out a usage, for there might be various other reasons why it had not been done, disconnected from slavery; it might be that there never had been a man among slaveholders fit for the office in other respects. Sectional feeling, aside from slavery, might have prevented it. He said a number of Northern men were ready and willing to vote for a slaveholder, which could now be proved, and that at the General Conference in 1832, one would have been nominated and doubtless elected, had it not been for the interference of some of the Baltimore delegation.

Mr. Winans said the preamble was also untrue in fact. It was not true, as it asserted, that Bishop Andrew was nominated to the Episcopal office by the South. He had no doubt some voted for him, but they were such as were drawn over into the conspiracy against the rights of the South, but the South voted for another man. He said, pointing to Mr. Pickering, the oldest member of the Conference, and from N. E. Conference, that venerable man nominated Bishop Andrew. Mr. P. said it was a mistake. He did not do it. Then I have always labored under a mistake, said Mr. Winans, and stand corrected. Well, there are a number of men now on this floor, of the North, who were then ready to vote for a slaveholder; deny that if you can. And but for intrigue, a slaveholder would have been elected. We slaveholders escape being made a Bishop by sleight of hand. Now let us look at the case itself; what are the facts? In the first place, Bishop Andrew became a slaveholder against his own will; he had no part in it, no volition. An old lady willed him a slave girl, to be sent to Liberia when nineteen years old, if willing to go, but if not willing, he was to keep her and make her as free as the law of the State would allow. Well, when she was nineteen years old she refused to be sent to Liberia. This was a case which might look strange to brethren of the North, but he understood it: a girl nineteen years old, and with considerable intelligence too, chose to be a slave rather than be sent to Liberia, or even rather than to leave the State, for she refused to go to a free State. The second case was the same, a boy had been willed to his wife, not to him, and as his wife died without a will, he became the heir. But both of these slaves were free to go when they pleased. If this made Bishop Andrew a slaveholder, he was such before the last General Conference. If all this disqualifies him now, it disqualified him then.

Let us now examine the last case. He has married one of the most

interesting women, a woman of whom Dr. Pierce said, she was fit for a Bishop's wife, if any woman living was fit for a Bishop's wife. But she owned slaves, and he refused to own those slaves, and secured them to her by a deed of trust. He made the condition of those slaves no worse by marrying that interesting woman. Was he bound to take her property because he took her hand? It cannot be shown that he injured the slaves by becoming their legal owner by marriage for a few hours, until he could deed them back again. He married the woman, and then replaced her property just as it was. For all this the Conference are about to ask him to resign. And why do they propose to do it? The argument is, it is expedient. Let me then meet this argument of expediency, with expediency on the other side of the question. By such a vote you will render it necessary, absolutely necessary, for a large portion of the church to ——— I fear to pronounce the word, you know what I mean! You will compel a large portion to separate from the church, or abandon their labors. A state of things exists by law, which will drive us to such a course. No preacher can go back and resume his work; they shall be cut off from the people, and denied intercourse with the slaves for whose good they labor. Balance this with the secessions which you fear in the North, and are you sure that your expediency is well founded? Pause before you strike the fatal blow. The time may come when you will see cause to weep that you cut off,—for we will not go unless we are cut off; you may, I say, see cause to weep that you cut off 1300 preachers and 450,000 members by one vote,—for the vote you now propose will do it. Throw out of the question the interests of the master, let these hateful and pealed and despised creatures go, but let the bleeding interests of the slave plead. Here the speaker became very much affected as he said, Hear me this once, it may be the last time; I assure you that abolition excitement has already cut off our communication with many of the slaves, and darkened their prospect for the salvation of their souls, and if you pass that vote you will complete the work and throw over these unfortunate beings the blackest of darkness forever.

Mr. E. Bowen, of Oneida Conference, said that the last speaker had overlooked one important fact in relation to Bishop Andrew's having been a slaveholder at the time of the last General Conference, and that was, the Conference did not know that he was a slaveholder. He said further that he was willing to vindicate Bishop Andrew from crime, and indeed no charge of crime or immorality was brought against him. We deprecate disunion, said Mr. B., and when we consider the influence it may have upon the civil institutions of our country, that it may lead to a

disunion of country in civil matters, we shrink back. But still if we must have disunion in some form, he thought secession was better than schism, and he was sure that unless something of the kind was done, we must have schism in the Northern Conferences. It was, he said, a choice between two evils. He said that it does appear that Bishop Andrew had rendered himself unacceptable as a general superintendent. He intended to occupy disciplinary ground, for he believed that the General Conference had control power over every officer, and should, on this ground, vote for the resolution.

Dr. Pierce, of Georgia, said he had long been known to the church as a delegate to the General Conference, but it was also known that he was never forward to enter the list of debaters; he had very seldom done it, and had never done it only when some important question was pending, which involved the interests of the church, compelling him from a sense of duty to come forward and exert what influence he could. He said thirty-nine years had rolled away since he gave himself to that body of ministers, and he was the oldest effective minister in Georgia, and might be allowed to give his opinion. He would speak now at this early stage of the discussion, because some were disposed to construe his silence into a belief that he was more willing to yield the question in debate than the younger men from the South. It was not so: he was the last man that would yield; he would enter his protest in his last and dying words against the measure. He fully endorsed what Mr. Winans had said, that the South would not and could not submit to the measure. He did not assume the opinions of the South; he knew and uttered their opinion. When you pass that resolution, you touch a principle fatal to the union of the church. To ask Bishop Andrew to resign because he is a slaveholder, is to ask the South to yield a vital principle; it goes to subvert the doctrine of the New Testament. St. Paul said, "All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient." Now, though it may be lawful to ask Bishop Andrew to resign, yet it is not expedient. Show that Bishop Andrew has violated any law, and we will yield the point; but that has not been attempted. Is he to be put down without having violated any rule of the church? to be offered a tribute to expediency? To sacrifice him is to violate a fundamental principle of the church, and to violate a fundamental principle cannot be expedient. Can it be expedient for one part to do what is inexpedient for another part? It cannot be, so long as the heavens are above the earth! What evidence is there that the proposed action is expedient? There is none, only assertions that the North will not receive him as a Bishop, there will be secessions, and the church will be divided. Now I hope these

evils will not be so great as they are represented, but whether they are or not, that is not the question. The question is, what is the rule of the church? If you can show, by the conservative principles of discipline that Bishop Andrew has done wrong: if you can show that he has violated one of the conservative principles, you will clearly place us in the wrong; but until you do this, your argument of expediency must rest on the wrong of those who demand it, and whose demand you think renders it expedient to sacrifice the Bishop. Put your finger on the rule that he has violated. But this matter will not end here, and you may hereafter look to the vote now pending, as the first knell in the dirge of departed joys. I am the oldest preacher in the Georgia Conference but one, and I can say that I never wedded my heart more to my family than I did to the M. E. Church; I have labored to promote her interests, and have watched over them with deep solicitude, and am constrained to say, that the agitation of the slavery question has done more evil than all other questions put together. Could you uncap hell, and expose the misery of the damned, you would this moment hear the groans of those who were driven from the M. E. Church, and consequently lost their souls in consequence of an attempt to enforce an anti-slavery Discipline. It is a civil matter: and to attempt to make it a subject of discipline, is to interfere with civil affairs. We have no more to do with it than we have with the tariff. In 1836, I desired to enter my protest on the journal against the act which I then considered the commencement of a process which has ripened into an open declaration, that slaveholding is a disqualification for the highest office in the Church; but as no Southern man had any ambitious designs in aspiring to the Episcopacy, I waived it and went into an election. If there was ever a time to pass such a rule, that time is not now. It will never do; it cannot be submitted to. No preacher that would lie down under such a rule, under such a degradation, is fit to be a Bishop. But you ask, what shall we do? Go to your people and tell them that you could not touch that thing, and do what you can to lay the excitement, and trust in God, and he who has blessed and prospered the church, will continue to do so under the same course that has heretofore been pursued.

Dr Bangs moved to have an afternoon session.

Mr. Smith opposed it. The motion, however, prevailed.

Dr. Capers then moved an adjournment, which was lost.

Dr. Durbin moved a reconsideration of the motion for an afternoon session.

Mr. Slicer opposed a reconsideration.

Mr. Winans advocated a reconsideration. He said that afternoon ses-

sions hindered rather than helped. Too close application produced a nervous sensibility, unfriendly to the harmonious dispatch of business. The motion was lost.

Dr. Capers renewed his motion for adjournment which prevailed.

Afternoon. Session.

Bishop Soule in the chair. Prayer as usual.

A motion was made to lay over the order of the day until to-morrow,

J. T. Peck opposed the motion. He said they were not ready for any other business, and should not be until that question was disposed of.

Mr. Collins was in favor of laying it over. If it could be allowed to rest until to-morrow, he said there might be some new light on the subject from a quarter not looked for. The motion was lost, and the discussion was resumed.

Mr. ——— said, after the Bishop's just remarks to young men, he would not presume to speak, were it not for his connection with an important branch of the work. He was no slaveholder, though he had been a slaveholder since he had been a Methodist preacher. He did not emancipate his slaves because he believed they would be better off; but whether they were better off or not, he was better off. He said, I did it to promote my own happiness, because I thought I should feel better not to be a slaveholder. I am well acquainted with slavery, and am not prepared to say that all who differ from me are sinners. I believe some of them are the most holy men in the church. I do not believe that the time has come for general emancipation. Considering the question in the light of the Discipline, as I do, I must vote against the resolution.

Mr. Coleman, of the Troy Conference, said he must give his vote for the resolution; but he did it not as the enemy of the South, but as her friend. He said he had opposed abolition to the extent of his ability, every where he had found it, in the Conference and out of the Conference. He had from the beginning been opposed to that unfortunate body of men, and he was still opposed to them. He had always opposed Zion's Watchman; it was sent to him, and the second number he ordered the postmaster to return, refusing to have any thing to do with it. I have been abused and treated as a traitor for defending the South against the attacks of the abolitionists. I know that the South have been abused by the abolitionists: they have been singed and scorched by abolition fire; but we have done what we could to defend them. But if we give them a slaveholding Bishop, it will overthrow the Southern church, it will be to open their bosoms to the shafts of abolition. There are two Northern men on this floor, who have done more to de-

fend the South than they all. If you give us a slaveholding Bishop, you take away our power to defend the South — it will be gone forever. We have fought abolition, and we thought we had got it under before Conference; the disturbers have principally left, and we were enjoying a quiet slumber; but I fear this discussion will wake it up again. We have fought battles the South know nothing about, with this dreadful spirit of abolition; I have done it myself. If the South favor the union they must not press a slaveholding Bishop upon us. Give us a slaveholding Bishop, and the whole North will be gunpowder, and there are those who will apply the match; it will make abolitionists of hundreds of the preachers and thousands of the people, and our enemies will seize upon it and blow up the people. If the South secede, they will expose themselves the more to the shafts, as we cannot defend them then. They will unspike those cannon which we have spiked with our blood. I have lain awake at night, when nature required sleep. We know some things have been done and said wrong, but we can bear them; we can let the South tread upon us, because they have been so ill treated and abused by the abolitionists of the North.

Mr. Smith of Va., said he did not rise to make a speech, but merely to correct an error into which the last speaker had fallen. It was that he and his coadjutors had been warring up to this time for the South, against the abolitionists. He said the abolitionists had never troubled their operations — they were to them as harmless as children's play. We never so understood it, that they were fighting for us — we know better. In '36 they told us, that among them all these evils followed, and entreated us to let this subject alone for their sakes. In this way they succeeded in silencing the South, but not with my consent. I understood them, and have from the beginning, and have been as true as the needle to the pole. I do not dispute the brother's good will, I do not question his honesty in what he has said; but his sympathy is misplaced. The South have no need of it, they have nothing to ask on this score; it is the North that needs sympathy, if they are as divided and distracted as they represent themselves to be, on the verge of ruin, if this resolution is not passed.

T. Stringfield, of Holston Conference, opposed the resolution. He objected to it — 1. Because it undertook to dispose of the Bishop, and get him out of the way, without assuming the responsibility of doing so. It only requested the Bishop to resign, while it was intended to throw the responsibility on him, in appearance at least. It was intended to compell him to resign, while it only bore the form of a request, throwing the responsibility of retiring from the office on himself. Why

did they take such an indirect way of coming at it? It should be done openly, and should appear to be done by the General Conference, as it really is. If Bishop Andrew is removed from office, it will be the work of the General Conference: why then should they shrink from the responsibility, of doing it directly, and undertake to accomplish it as though the Bishop removed himself by resignation?

2. Mr. S. objected to the resolution, because it is inexpedient. A better man could not be found, aside from the fact that he is connected with slavery, and this under the circumstances, was no objection to him in that part of the work, which fell to his lot to perform. If he is compelled to resign, some one must take his place. Who then will take his place? A Southern man will not; and will a Northern man go there and step into his shoes, and preside over him and the rest of the preachers insulted with him? The man whose feelings would allow him to do it, is not fit for a Bishop. The only safe course which we can take is to adhere to the Discipline; if we do this, God will overrule all for his good. It cannot be done so as not to appear after all to be done by the Conference: why then try to cover it up? Act openly and honestly, and leave the event with God.

Mr. Crowder, of Va., next obtained the floor. He said those who support the resolution place all on the ground of expediency. They also most distinctly declare that it is not to affect him as an elder — that he may enter upon the work as such, and preach the gospel, and be useful. This concession, so clearly and unequivocally made, is of vast importance.

1. It is an admission that Bishop Andrew has violated no principle of morality. The standard for the christian ministry, as contained in our book of Discipline is, that a man must be going on unto perfection, must be groaning after it, and must expect to be made perfect in love in this life. All this is required in order to enter the ministry, and then he must be annually examined by a standard which requires him to be blameless in life and conversation. Now when we consider that this is the standard for a Methodist minister, the concession that Bishop Andrew is not to have his ministerial character touched, is an admission that he has violated no principle of morality, that at least he is going on unto perfection, groaning after it, expecting to be made perfect in love in this life.

2. The concession that Bishop Andrew's character as a minister is not to be touched, is an admission that he has violated no rule of the Methodist Discipline. If ministerial character is not touched, he must be blameless. To pretend, therefore, that he has violated any rule of

discipline, is to say, that the Discipline contains rules which ministers and Bishops may violate and still be blameless. But if he has violated any rule of Discipline, let it be shown which of the rules he has violated, and let the measure be based upon the violation of that rule. But this is not and cannot be done. It is clear then from the concessions of the opposite side, that Bishop Andrew has violated no principle of morality, or of the Methodist Discipline. The procedure against him, is based wholly upon expediency; this appears both from facts and the admission of the party that proceed against him.

The next point to be examined is the nature and origin of this expediency. How came this expediency to exist? And on what ground does the expediency rest? It did not originate at the South; the South has always occupied the same ground she does now. Her policy has been from the beginning to adhere to the Discipline, and she has now violated none of its rules, as is admitted. This expediency has had its origin in the North; this is also admitted. Did it then grow out of the gospel of Christ? Certainly not, if the speakers on the other side may be believed; for they tell us that they have opposed and fought "the dreadful spirit" which renders the measure expedient. Did the expediency grow out of our economy? Certainly not, by the concessions of the other side. If it be the legitimate issue of our economy, why have they opposed it, and still disavow its parentage, as they have done, over and over again. It has its origin aside from religion; it is the offspring of a spirit, which if we were to judge from their description of it, might be called legion, [There are legions of angels as well as legions of devils, and some may think abolition is the former.—Reporter.] but which they call abolition. These positions have all been admitted by the brother from Troy, [Mr. Coleman.] Nor has the expediency grown out of the civil polity of the country, but is opposed to it. The question then is, Shall we, as honest men and as Christians, yield to an expediency growing out of such circumstances? Let it *never* be said, Yield to an expediency, admitted to have arisen out of what is aside from, and opposed to the economy of the church, while the person to be sacrificed on the altar of this expediency is admitted to be on the platform of the church, and to have violated none of her rules. I repeat it, *never*!

But what is to be accomplished by the measure, if it be carried? Is it the freedom and salvation of the slaves in the South? Our reply is, that it is not the best way to bring about such a result; it will tend only to increase the evil by increasing suspicion already awake, and by arraying the North and South more and more against each other. I

think my colleague made a mistake in saying that abolition did not harm the South. He thought it had done much harm. [Mr. Smith explained that he did not mean to say that it had done no harm to the slave, but that it did not injure them by distracting and dividing the church as it did in the North.] See what abolition has done in the South with reference to the post office, and in many other respects. If you pass that resolution you will strike another blow at the union; you will sever the affections of ministers who have been united in a common fellowship, and strife and bitter feeling will be the result. And if the result will be such in the church, what will be the effect produced upon those who are not under the sanctifying influence of grace? They would be excited, and great damage will be done to the influence of the church and the interests of the slave. Pass that resolution and the South can never lift her head again, for it involves a principle that proscribes all her ministers, by implication at least, and says to them that they must keep within their own limits, that they will not be received and acknowledged in the North by the church to which they belong. And when the church shall be thus divided, one of the strongest ties will be severed that holds the Union together, and that will be broken up next, and our common country will be dissolved into warring elements. Let that be noted; a dark and portentous cloud hangs over this nation in view of the resolution you propose to pass. Let the Bishop remain where he is, one of the Bishops of the M. E. Church, and if the abolitionists of the North will not receive him, let him labor where he can, where he is wanted, where he is loved and respected as a Bishop of the M. E. Church. In all these remarks I have none but the kindest feelings towards those who differ from me on this subject. I love you, brethren, and if you should be called from earth this afternoon, I have no doubt you would go to glory, and if we were all taken, I have no doubt that Bishop Andrew would be found among the blessed redeemed and saved. I not only believe this, but you believe it, you have acknowledged it in your remarks, you declare you have nothing against him as a Christian and a minister, but only as an officer of the General Conference. How then can you do such a thing as to degrade that good man, good by your own concessions? I ask, how can you do it? I think it a fearful expediency. God has been with us and greatly blessed us in the South as well as in the North, and we have done a great work, and God will be with us still, if we will keep to our appropriate work, and trust in him alone, as our fathers did, and not provoke him to leave us by resorting to worldly expediency to protect ourselves against threatened calamities, and to promote that work, the success of which depends alone upon the blessing of God.

Mr. Spencer, of the Pittsburg Conference, next took the floor and supported the resolution requesting Bishop Andrew to resign. He said it had been urged that we have no Discipline, but if this was sound, there were many things which a Bishop might do which would destroy his usefulness, for which he could not be touched. Suppose he had married a colored woman, it would have destroyed his influence, and yet according to the argument, he could not be touched, for we have no rule against marrying colored women. It has been said on the other side, that we ought to walk up square to the work, and not take this indirect way of coming at it. It is said we should bring a charge against the Bishop, if he has done wrong. Well, we might have walked up to it directly, and I fear we may have to do so yet. But we do not wish to embarrass him in his ministerial character; we are willing the brethren should have him as an elder, and let them take him and let him do what good he can, but do not let them keep him a crushing load upon the great wheel of our Episcopacy. Let me state one fact: it was a common remark among the people of my charge, whatever you do, do not give us a slaveholding Bishop; but lo, we have already got one. And I assure you, if we go back with one, we may just as well disband, the church will leave us by thousands. But we are in danger of being disturbed by an innovation upon Methodism, by putting a slaveholding Bishop in the chair. Some have petitioned against the election of a slaveholding Bishop, but I thought it unnecessary, and I told the people I did not believe it necessary; I did not believe the South would ask a slaveholding Bishop, but behold they have already got one. And what is more, we are told he was made a slaveholder against his will. I maintain that this cannot be; no man can be made a slaveholder against his will. But the slaves were willed to him; be it so, is any man compelled to accept of what is willed to him? Certainly not. But he becomes connected with slavery also by marriage. Will it be said that that was without his consent and against his will? Is a man as grave as a Bishop, and old enough to be a grandfather, to fall into a chicken-fit of love and marry a woman, slaves and all, and then tell us that he became a slaveholder against his will? If he took the slaves with the wife, it is no less true that he took the wife with the slaves. We are told that he does not own them, that he has secured them to his wife by a deed of trust. This is doubtless true, but it only proves that there was a time when he did own them, for he could not secure them to her by a deed of trust unless they were his in law. I look upon it as a fearful innovation upon Methodism to introduce slaveholding into the Episcopacy. But suppose ruin comes upon us in consequence of the resolution before the Confer-

ence, suppose the church is divided, and suppose the union is dissolved, on whom must the responsibility rest? Not upon us, but upon those who have made it necessary to take such a step. But it is objected to on the ground that it rests upon expediency. Turning to the chair, the speaker inquired, what put you in office but expediency? And we shall let you be there no longer than we think it expedient so to do. The Episcopacy itself rests upon expediency, as all the world knows. Its warmest friends have never claimed any higher authority for it than that it is expedient. We are told that the course proposed involves the principle of an *ex post facto* law, but I cannot see it so. An officer has pursued a course which has pressed these evils upon us, and it requires no *ex post facto* law to remove the evils. Had the question been brought before the Conference in a different form, I might have discussed this point more in accordance with the resolution, but it has been discussed by others as though the resolution was to displace Bishop Andrew, and I may be permitted to take the same course. Now we have a law which empowers the General Conference to expel a Bishop for improper conduct. But what is improper conduct? The common law declares that murder is a crime, but the common law does not define what murder is; this is done by special statutes. So in this case, we have a general law which says that a Bishop may be expelled for improper conduct, but it does not define what improper conduct is, and hence, it must be left to the judgment of this body to decide. It is clear then that the Conference have power to expel the Bishop, if they judge his connecting himself with slavery improper conduct, he knowing when he did it what the state of feeling was in the church, and what the consequences would be. Now as the Conference can expel, they can take away his office, for the greater includes the lesser.

The consequences of this action have been spread before us, and we have been told that could we uncap hell we should hear the groans of those who were driven from the church and went to perdition in consequence of attempting to enforce a Discipline against slavery. Suppose it be so, the reply is that if you give us a slaveholding Bishop you will drive thousands from the church, and they lose their souls in the same way, and then could we uncap hell at some future period, we should hear the groans of those who went to hell on account of having a slaveholding Bishop. We will offset this against the other. But the brother from Georgia, in his remark that former attempts to enforce a Discipline against slavery, did so much harm virtually admitted that the church is not what she once was on this subject. This has been brought against us by some Northern men, who disturb us, that the church has gone

back, and the remark of the brother from Georgia proves it. If some warm spirits in the South go off, it will be known that they are pro-slavery and they could never carry the body of the Southern Church with them. Let Bishop Andrew return to the South as an elder, unimpeached in his ministerial character, and labor and do what good he can; and let it be understood that the Conference has done no more than to carry out her Discipline, and no very serious difficulties will follow. But it is said that he cannot emancipate his slaves, and therefore he is allowed to hold them by the Discipline. This might be true of him as an elder located in that country, but it is not true of him as a Bishop, for a Bishop is a Bishop of the whole church, and may take up his abode anywhere. He can move to a free State by which his slaves will be free. Suppose I lived in a neighborhood where I was compelled by the habits and principles of the people to hunt squirrels and play ball on the Sabbath. Would that be a sufficient excuse for me to practise these things so long as I could live elsewhere and attend equally well to the work assigned me?

The expediency of the measure lies just here, if we have a slaveholding Bishop, we are ruined at the North, but if we pass the resolution, the South will not be ruined if our brethren do what they can to prevent it.

Mr. Early, of Va., made a few remarks, the whole of which were not distinctly heard, there being some confusion in the house. He said he did not rise to make a speech; he would not reply to the speech of the last speaker: it was not worthy of a reply. He rose to disabuse the public mind, by saying that Virginia owned no such son: she would acknowledge no such son; and he would say to the Bishop, if he sent him to Eastern Virginia, he would not be received, nor his doctrine. [Cries of "personality!" "personalities!"]

Some one moved an adjournment. [Cries of "no!" "no!"]

Bishop Soule, from the chair, said it was impossible to keep order when so many spectators were crowded within the bar; he had no authority to keep the community orderly, but only the members of the Conference, and he had given up the idea of keeping order.

The motion for adjournment was then put and carried.

Thursday, May 23.

Minutes read and approved. Discussion resumed on the resolution requesting Bishop Andrew to resign.

Dr. Bangs said he was a member of the General Conference in 1808,

when the Constitution of the church was formed, and had been a member of every General Conference since. He had of course been in many discussions which had been conducted with much zeal and interest. The presiding elder question was one of great interest. But he had never witnessed one discussion conducted with so much calmness and Christian spirit as this, and felt fully assured it would not terminate in a division of the church.

Dr. B. said he would reply to a few points in the speech of the brother from Miss., (Mr. Winans.) It had been contended that the church had no usage against the election of a slaveholding Bishop, but he contended that what had never been the practice of the church must be contrary to usage. But the brother said it like to have become a practice. Well, he doubted that. It was said that the election of a slaveholding Bishop was defeated by management, which must be a mistake. He said the mover of the present resolution went to a Southern man, at the General Conference of 1832, and asked him if he would emancipate his slaves if he should be nominated for a Bishop, and received for an answer that he could not. The same person nominated James O. Andrew.

He said he wished to correct a mistake of the brother from Virginia, who had said that it was abolition that had produced the present state of things; he said it was not abolition, but the old anti-slavery feeling. He did not wish to allude to abolitionists or slaveholders; he loved both.

Dr. B. said that there were many things that might disqualify a Bishop for his office and work. Suppose Bishop Hedding should adopt and maintain the sentiment that slavery is a sin under all circumstances that would disqualify him for a general superintendent, because that sentiment would not be borne in one portion of the work. He would in such case vote requesting him to resign. Suppose Bishop Hedding should go South and marry a colored woman. — [Cries from different parts of the house, Not possible, not possible, it can't be done. Bishop — Order, order, order, brethren. Dr. Bangs continued.] Suppose he should marry a colored woman in the North then, for that was possible, it would be so unpopular and excite so much prejudice, as to disqualify him for his work, and it would be necessary that he should resign and another be put in his place. And yet it could not be maintained that any law would be violated in the supposed case. He maintained that the Bishop had acted inexpediently, if he had violated no law. St. Paul said he would eat no more meat while the world stood, if it made his brother to offend. This was the rule by which the Bishop ought to have acted, or it was the rule which he had violated. He knew the

state of feeling, that his becoming a slaveholder would make his brother to offend or render him unacceptable to his brethren as a Bishop. Suppose we admit that he had no will in the first two cases, still it cannot be pretended that he had no will in marrying. This point he said had been made clear by the brother who opened the case, (Mr. Griffith.)

The speaker said there was a plain difference between an elder and a Bishop. The resolution does nothing, we do not wish to deny any thing to abridge the rights of slaveholders as ministers. They wished to avoid the two extremes of abolition on one hand, which affirms that slaveholding is a sin under all circumstances, and the introduction of slavery into the Episcopacy on the other. He did not believe that slaveholding is a sin under all circumstances. The New York Conference had fought that doctrine boldly, and he would be willing now to declare by a resolution, that to hold that slavery was a sin under all circumstances would be a disqualification for a Bishop. It was well known that that sentiment could not be tolerated in one section, and hence it would disqualify a man for a general superintendent, and the same was true of slaveholding.

Dr. Capers said he was not in to hear the brother who had just taken his seat, but he had been informed that he had referred to a Southern preacher, by which he supposed himself to be meant. He was told that Dr. Bangs should have said that a member of the Baltimore delegation at the General Conference in 1832, went to a Southern preacher and asked him if he would emancipate his slaves if he was nominated for a Bishop, and received for an answer that he could not. This, said the speaker, I am told is understood to refer to me, and I have only to say in reference to it, that it strikes my ear for the first time. I say I never heard of that before; no, never; I say, *never, NEVER, NEVER!*

Dr. Bangs said, if it be so, I stand corrected, but I understood a brother to state that.

Mr. Davis, of the Baltimore Conference, said he objected to bringing members in personal contact in that way. He said he was requested by the Baltimore delegation to have a conversation with Dr. Capers; that he asked the Dr. if it would be practicable for him to free himself from slavery? He told him at the same time that they preferred him to any other man, were it not for that difficulty, and that the Dr. told him that he was doomed to remain a slaveholder, in view of which we preferred another man.

Dr. Capers replied that he understood that the remarks of Dr. Bangs were calculated to produce the impression that I was inquired of if I would emancipate my slaves if I were nominated by the Baltimore del-

egation. Now I can assure the brother that, he cannot, he shall not love me more than I will love him, yet I must say that he must be in error in this thing. I cannot have forgotten. If brother Davis was sent to me by the Baltimore delegation, he forgot to tell me that fact, and if the Baltimore delegation thought they could tamper with me in that way, they knew me not.

Mr. Davis said the remarks of Dr. Capers entirely changed the face of the subject; he did not go to him in the name of the Baltimore delegation, as sent by them.

Dr. Capers said the brother came to him and said the Northern brethren know that we are entitled to a Bishop, and they had a conversation on the subject. In the former election I supported the election of Bishop Soule, and as strongly opposed the election of Bishop Hedding, and to prevent the like difficulty, he begged that they might confer together on the subject. The nomination of Bishop Andrew was the result, but nothing that he did could effect the law or be construed into a usage. It gave him great pain to know that he was regarded by his brethren as a man-stealer, and what he did was done from feeling. But he was sure that he never received any proposition of the kind from the Baltimore delegation. After all, he said that as poor and unworthy, and slaveholder as he was, he received forty votes that could not be carried for the man he had nominated, and these votes did not come from the South nor from the West.

Mr. Winans, of Miss., made a few words in explanation, and proposed to ask Mr. Davis a question.

Dr. Durbin rose to a point of order, but his remarks were not heard.

Mr. Winans to Mr. Davis—Do you know that for months before the Conference in 1832, arrangements were made by the Baltimore delegation to elect a Southern man that was not a slaveholder?

Mr. Davis—I knew that arrangement was made to defeat the election of a slaveholding Bishop.

At this point confusion reigned. The chair demanded order, and called the speakers back to the question.

Mr. Pickering explained, and said he never nominated Dr. Capers, as had been asserted, but if he was free from slavery he would receive an appointment from him as quick as from any other man.

Mr. Finley now obtained the floor, and offered a substitute for the resolution before the house, the substance of which is that Bishop Andrew be requested to desist from exercising the office of general superintendent until he shall be free from his connection with slavery. Mr. F. proceeded to support his substitute. He first stated what he considered

two undisputed facts ; first, that the Bishop had become connected with slavery ; and secondly, that it would hinder him in the discharge of his duties as a general superintendent. He then inquired what it was necessary to do to remove the embarrassment. He affirmed that it was not necessary for him to be impeached and suspended. Nor was it necessary for him to resign. All that was necessary was for him to cease to exercise the Episcopal office until circumstances shall so change as to deliver him from the embarrassment. He loved him as a Christian, as a Methodist minister, and as a Bishop, and did not want him to resign. After consulting the best friends, not of North or the South, but the best friends of the general superintendency, he believed the substitute would be all that was called for ; it only asked him to desist from the exercise of his Episcopal office until he should be freed from this embarrassment.

Mr. Spencer moved to amend the substitute by making it read, "until he shall free his slaves." He may become disconnected with slavery by selling them, or by conveying them to some one else by a deed of trust.

The chair decided that it was not in order to amend a substitute.

Dr. Olin then took the floor for a speech. He said his health was poor, that he was elected by his conference with the knowledge before them that it was doubtful whether he would be able to give full attention to business. Thus far he had been in his place, but the two sessions the day before had materially affected him, and it was doubtful about his being able to attend so strictly in future. This led him to desire to address the Conference at that time, for he wished his sentiments known on the subject, and he feared he might not have an opportunity to express them unless he did it at that time. He said his relation to the subject was not peculiar. His present position and relation to the church and the public, not only tended to render it delicate for him to touch the subject, but with it was connected his former and most tender relations. [In allusion to the fact that his former wife had slaves when he married her.] Some, he said, might suppose that he was so hemmed in by circumstances that he could not act. He would not say that he should not be influenced by them, for that he could not know ; men might not be aware how much their action was modified by circumstances, but he would try to do his duty in the fear of God. Without pledging himself to carry out all that might follow from the adoption of the substitute, or grow out of it, he would say he was glad the substitute had been offered. The original resolution he regarded as a very unfortunate one, though he loved and venerated its author. He was not prepared to say

that the Discipline of the church, in part or by construction, contained any provisions against the election of a slaveholding Bishop. Suppose Virginia has been allowed to furnish a President for these United States for 40 years, and all the other States for only 12 years, will it be sound to urge that fact as a usage, deducing from thence a rule of action that Virginia is to have the President in that proportion for time to come? Nothing could be more fallacious. It would only prove that Virginia had been able to secure a majority of votes for her man. A majority would always control that matter, and sufficiently control it so long as votes were left free and unrestrained. As they had no rule or usage on the subject which could be constructed into a rule of action, so he was opposed to making any, and therefore could not vote for the preamble of the original resolution. He did not like the issue that the resolution presented, it would imply that Bishop Andrew was not desirable as a Bishop, which was not the fact, for no man had better discharged the duties of his office, and no man was more generally beloved. He did not think it the best way to constrain him to resign, as some will say has been done if the original resolution be passed.

Dr. Olin said he supposed they came together with the best prospects of a harmonious session, and he had no doubt that all had come with the best prospects, whatever might be the result. He did not come until the second week, and knew nothing of the difficulty until a brother whispered it in his ear as he sat in his seat. Its announcement alarmed him; he saw at once their difficulty was great, if not insuperable. He well knew the consequences that must follow, unless something was done; he had taken great pains to inquire and find out the real state of feeling among the people at the North, and he was satisfied that great evil awaited them; it was the unanimous testimony that the subject would be unmanageable and overwhelming, if they returned to the people with a slaveholding Bishop. For information he had not gone to the abolitionists, but to the opposers of the abolitionists. Still, I hope they have overrated the evil. The difficulty has come upon us unexpectedly, and from a quarter we looked not for it; it has broken upon us like a clap of thunder from a clear sky, and we must manage it for the good of the Church, the best way we can. I do not know that we can touch it to make it any better, and if not, we must leave it to work its own cure.

The Conference is limited by constitutional restrictions, and if we cannot touch it without going beyond the record, we had better go home and weep over it as a judgement from God sent to chasten and purify us. But still, limited as we are by the constitution, I believe

something can be done. We cannot do away the Episcopacy, but we can limit its powers. The Conference cannot touch the ministerial character of one of its members. The Conference cannot, ought not to infringe upon the rights and immunities of the ministers of any part of the work. If we touch the rights of the South, we shall soon see a disunion. Some may doubt that they have a right to hold slaves, but I do not. Those who doubt that members and ministers in the South have a right to hold slaves by the constitution of the church may be very good men, but they are bad Methodists. If I believed as they do I would reform the church, and if I could not do that within a reasonable time, I would do as some of our friends have, secede and join some other church, or organize a new one to suit myself. I do not believe slaveholding is a disqualification for a Bishop, and I will never give such a vote. If I have ever seen men possessing the qualifications of a Christian minister, the piety, and zeal, and love, and temper, and devotedness of a Christian minister, it has been among slaveholders. I was a slaveholder and minister myself, and had it not been for the act that the climate did not agree with me, I should doubtless have been a slaveholder still. It would not be good policy to pass a vote to exclude slaveholders from the ministry in future; it would not be for the good of the master or the slave. If ever I saw a man that was fit for a Christian Bishop, a man possessed of ardent piety, of an enlightened mind, of a selfsacrificing benevolence, and of a deep humility, that man is James O. Andrew. I have known him long and well; he was the companion of my youth. I have been sick in his house, and his former wife, now gone to glory, was my nurse. Had I a thousand votes to give, I would give them all for him for a Bishop in preference to any other man I know. With the exception that he is a slaveholder, I think him the best of all I know. I believe he has done most for the slave. I have heard him speak on the subject of slavery at camp-meetings, with a boldness that astonished me. I know of no man save one that has done so much for the slave. If it is then necessary to take action on the subject, deal with him tenderly. If you cannot act without calling in question the rights of Southern preachers, better not act at all, better meet any evil than to violate the constitution and trample upon the rights of any portion of the church. But I believe you can act, at least to some extent. You cannot censure a brother who is on constitutional ground. Under the circumstances, it is not the Bishop, but the North that has got off the platform. Still you may pass a resolution that it is the will of this Conference that Bishop Andrew, against whom there is no charge, refrain from the exercise of the functions of the

Episcopacy until the difficulty be removed. Better days may come, the difficulty may be removed soon. Let mighty prayer go forth from this Conference, and let the brethren who fear so much difficulty, not excite it, but strive to lay the feeling; let those who occupy the extremes on both sides do this, and much of the evil feared will be prevented. The Bishop will do all he can to relieve us; he will make a sacrifice of every thing in his power but principle. Suppose Dr. Peck had done some act, not wrong in itself, but which, from the state of the public mind, tended to injure the circulation of the *Quarterly Review*, we would not impeach him, but simply say, you do not answer our purpose.

In the case before us, we must not do any thing by way of punishment. There must be sacrifice and suffering somewhere, and it must be borne. Let what *must* be done go forth as a prudential measure, and not as performed upon constitutional ground. There is great danger of excitement in the South, and at the North a dozen conferences cannot be kept together if nothing is done. There must be action that will satisfy them, or that will at least hold out the hope that the difficulty will be removed. The South has one advantage over the North; they can hold together, and the people will rally round them to a man, but it is otherwise in the North.

If I have an interest in the work any where, it is in the South. There was I converted to God; there did I commence my ministry, and if we must be divided, there will my thoughts often wander, and of them shall I think; and for them shall I often pray who are far away. [Tears gave witness to the deep feeling of the speaker.] But I believe we can send out a declaration that the South will believe, if it does not call their rights in question.

One word concerning abolitionism: and I can assure my brother of the South that this measure does not proceed from abolitionists, properly so called. New York Conference is not and never has been an abolition conference. Troy Conference is not an abolition conference. The Methodists in the North do not generally favor abolitionism, technically so called; they do not hold that slavery is a sin under all circumstances. Nor do they favor slavery as a system. The community has imbibed abolition principles from reading the public press, aside from any connection with the agitation of the subject in the church, and the Methodists partake of it just as all the community partake of it. A question will be put to me: will you adopt a measure which will injure that part of the church which has always stuck to the Discipline, to save that part which has agitated itself with matters foreign to the princi-

ples of the compact? Let me say, in reply to this, that four-fifths of the delegates from the Northern Conferences are not abolitionists. New York Conference never meddled with it, further than to prevent its members from taking part in the abolition agitation. The man on my right [Dr. Bangs] has been loaded with abuse for his efforts to prevent the progress of abolition in the church. Let no one say we are not consistent Methodists; let no one say we brought this evil upon ourselves; let no reporter record it, and let no tongue tell it! I was sorry to hear the brother from Virginia [W. A. Smith] say that they did not thank us only as common Methodists for what we had done for ourselves in opposing abolition; the men who now urge this measure are those who have been called pro-slavery, and who are called pro-slavery still by implication. The Dr. said he had occupied more time than he intended to, and would not trespass longer upon their attention.

Mr. Drake of Miss., next obtained the floor. He said that no man, he believed, had a higher regard for the unity of the church, than brother Finley, who had presented the substitute, and he had no doubt he presented the substitute to promote unity. Nor did he doubt that the speaker last up desired most ardently the unity of the church, and he would not intentionally say one word himself to endanger the union. But he felt constrained to say that the substitute was no better than the original resolution, they both were the same in principle, and would prove the same in effect if adopted. To request the Bishop to desist from the exercise of his Episcopal functions, under the circumstances of the case, must have the same effect as to request him to resign; and to request him to resign was the same as to vote him out of office. Now what is the meaning of the resolution or the substitute? if either of them shall be adopted, what will it say to the church and the world? It will say that a slaveholder cannot be a Bishop, notwithstanding the Discipline, which clearly allows preachers to hold slaves where the law will not allow of emancipation.

One speaker, in the prosecution of his argument, has represented the Bishop as a mere agent, and has illustrated the case by an editor appointed by this Conference. Now I cannot see the Bishop in this light; there is a wide difference. An editor may be removed at pleasure, without any impeachment, or even stain upon his character; but it is not so with a Bishop; you cannot put him out of office without staining his Episcopal robe. It cannot be done without being done against the Discipline and the Bible. A Bishop cannot be suspended without a charge, or without having done something affecting his moral character. But it is not pretended that Bishop Andrew has done any thing

for which his ministerial character is or ought to be impeached. I dread a division of the church as much as any man, and yet I am compelled to say that Bishop Andrew must remain as he is, or the church will be divided. The South will never secede, but will be cut off when the division takes place. But there is one way in which the Bishop may remain, if the North express their real sentiments when they declare that they have nothing against him as a Christian and a minister. The last speaker said that the South are united and would go together to a man, but that the North would be divided. I ask then, if to save a part, a small part of the North, you will adopt a measure that will drive off all the South? Let the brethren who hold these sentiments, that Bishop Andrew, by becoming connected with slavery as he has, has not brought a blot upon his moral or ministerial character,—and every speaker has avowed the sentiment,—let these brethren, I say, take strong ground against division, and fearlessly defend what they avow in this Conference, when they return to their people, and but few will leave. Shall we then lose the whole of the South to save a part, a small part of the North? When the Bishop question was settled, next would come the repeal of the colored testimony resolution. All expected that. Would there not then be an effort to cut off all elders that hold slaves?—for as they may be transferred, the same principle that is applied to the Bishop may be applied to them.

Mr. Drake concluded his remarks by adding that he should like to see a substitute presented, stating the substance of what he should like to have adopted in the place of what was before the house. The preamble set forth the sectional differences between the North and South, as the basis of action; and the action itself was a division of the church into Episcopal districts, each to have its own Bishop, provided that a Bishop should not preside more than eight years in the same district.

Mr. Slicer, of Baltimore, said he belonged to the class called conservatives, and should go for the substitute of Br. Finley. He should go for that for the sake of the slave, as well as for the sake of the North. He said it did not give all the ground to either party. It took a ground between the two extremes of both. It would suit all south of New England, and all north of Virginia. These middle conferences, he said, had been a kind of breakwater, to keep out the extremes of abolition on one hand, and the extremes of slavery on the other. North of these conferences, we might hear it affirmed that slavery is a sin under all circumstances, and in the far South, you might hear it affirmed that slavery is a great social and political blessing.

Mr. Slicer said, if he wished to break up the union, he would go for

the suggestion of the last speaker. [Mr. Drake.] The general superintendency, in his view was the strongest band of union; it was the life blood of the system; and if the work was divided into Episcopal districts, as suggested, the system could no more live than the human body could live and flourish in health, with the several limbs corded so as to stop the circulation of the blood. It would be acting upon the Presbyterian doctrine of elective affinity, a principle upon which some of their ecclesiastical bodies were organized; but it was a principle which would not work in Methodism. To adopt the suggestion, would be to take a long step towards diocesan Episcopacy. He thought it not best or necessary, to say that a slaveholder cannot be a Bishop; a slaveholder could be a Bishop: and they should have a slaveholding Bishop, if ever the time should come when a majority should want one: he was willing to leave it to the majority to say who should be Bishops. He thought the illustration of Dr. Olin did not meet the case. Virginia might have had the President as supposed, without constituting what might be called a usage, but more was true of the church: she had refused to elect a slaveholder to the office of Bishop, because he was a slaveholder. But though under the circumstances of the church and the country, it was not best to elect a slaveholder to the office of Bishop, no one but a man of one idea, would contend that there could be no case of slaveholding without immorality. For, said the speaker, there are men of one idea. No matter what the idea is: a Miller idea, or a *Morus Multicaulis* speculation idea. None, I say, none but a man of one idea will pretend that slaveholding is in every case a disqualification for the Christian ministry, or for all civil office. There are some who maintain that slaveholding is a disqualification for civil office: such I call men of one idea. He should go for the substitute, because it was the milder course; it only required him to refrain from the exercise of his office, until he was freed from the embarrassment; and the moment he was freed, he was a Bishop, and could enter upon the work of a general superintendent. Young as he was, having been a travelling preacher for only twenty-three years, he would venture to give his opinion. If circumstances would admit of it, he would hold up both hands to do nothing, and let the Bishop proceed without let or hindrance. The speaker said the North was compelled to violate the Discipline by building pewed meeting-houses, and in allowing the men and women to sit together; whereas, Mr. Wesley says, let them sit apart in all cases. This pew business, he was sorry to say had got as far south as Baltimore. Again, the North had their bass-viol, and their seraphims, and their organs. But had Bishop Andrew infringed the Discipline? He said, no;

no man could lay his finger on the passage in the Discipline that he had violated. What, then, has he done? I answer, he has offended against the great law of expediency. While the North violate the rules as above stated, let them remember the circumstances which embarrass our brethren in the South on the subject of slavery. Let the substitute be adopted, and not ten men would rise up against it; and as far north as Pennsylvania, the Bishop would be acceptable with two-thirds, if they were not to touch him. Mr. Slicer closed by observing that the Bishop's case was not the same in every respect as that which had been appealed from the Baltimore Conference.

Mr. Crandall, of New England Conference, next obtained the floor. He said he did not agree with the last speaker in every respect. He did not suppose the brethren from the South would retract the smallest point, or move an inch to meet them, were they disposed to compromise. Mr. C. said neither the resolution or the substitute suited him. He appreciated the motives with which they had been presented; he had no doubt it had been done with an honest view to preserve the union of the church; but he did not suppose the South would thank them for it. He should have voted for the resolution with all his heart, had the vote been taken upon it, notwithstanding his objections to it. He supposed it was the best there was any hope of getting. And he should have voted for the substitute, had not so many objectionable speeches been made in support of it. He said that Dr. Olin had said many things that had met with a hearty response in his bosom; but he said other things in which he thought him mistaken. He presumed he did not intend to mistake anything, but had failed of being correct for want of an opportunity to obtain correct information. He understood the Dr. to say, that the right of our Southern brethren to be slaveholders, and Methodist ministers at the same time, was not denied; whereas, there were hundreds in the North who denied it.

Dr. Olin explained; he said he did not say that there were none who denied it; but he gave it as his own opinion of the Constitution, that they had that right.

Mr. Crandall resumed, and said, that the constitution did not include that part of the Discipline which relates to slavery. The tenth section, as it is explained, gives them that right; but that is not the constitution, but legislation, or statute law.

Dr. Olin explained again, by saying that he used the term constitution, to signify the whole Discipline, including all its provisions.

Crandall resumed, and said he understood Dr. Olin to say, that those who held that Southern preachers have no right to hold slaves, were not fit to belong to the church.

Dr. Olin explained, by saying that he had said no such thing. He said they might be very good men, but bad Methodists; by which he meant no more than that however good they might be in heart, for he did not doubt their good intentions, they were nevertheless, in that thing, off the Methodist platform.

Mr. Crandall added, that he was glad for the explanation, for it materially changed the face of the subject in his view, and on the whole, he could vote for the substitute.

Mr. Cass, of N. H., next took the floor. He said, if he understood the question, it was, to remove Bishop Andrew from office, on the ground of expediency, and not for a violation of any rule of the church, or of morality. The ground of this expediency, he understood to be the supposition, that some of the people will secede if he is suffered to remain, and not that it is wrong to be a slaveholder. To such a procedure he objected; for it could not be right to displace the Bishop to accommodate the wrong views and feelings of any part of the church. The general opinion in the North, he understood to be, that slavery is wrong in the nation and in the church. If this be so, it calls for the removal of Bishop Andrew, if he be a slaveholder. If you can make out that he is not a slaveholder, or if you can prove that slavery, as he is connected with it, is not wrong, then this whole procedure against him must be wrong. I assure the Conference, that the action proposed, upon the ground that it is proposed, while the Bishop is expressly cleared from all blame, will not satisfy a large body in the North. Let this Conference say that it is not wrong to hold slaves, and we of the North stand upon a volcano, and we shall be blown up. All had admitted that something should be done; but they had better do nothing, than that which is good for nothing; they might as well do nothing as to do that which has got nothing in it. I do not ask, at this time, that the Conference convict him of immorality, but only that they say, he has done wrong. He married in view of the facts; he was not so obscure an individual as not to know the state of things that existed. Suppose I should do what would disqualify me for the work assigned me; would I not be dealt with as having done wrong? Can they say that he has done right in producing all this excitement? We have heard much about a storm, and about a dark cloud hanging over us; I ask, has he done right in raising this storm, in spreading this dark cloud over us, in detaining us here so long away from our work, and in producing an agitation that cannot fail to be felt through the whole country? With all my veneration for the Episcopacy, and I have no objection to it, I must say that I think he has done wrong. When you admit that slavery is

right, then you may write Ichabod upon our banner. The resolution does not speak out in language that will satisfy those whom the action is designed to save. It is said that the Southern brethren will go off, if we press this point. Well, nullification is not a new doctrine either in church or state; General Conference after General Conference have we heard this, but they are not gone yet. They say what they know, that the South will go to a man. How do they know? Have they consulted and learned the opinions of all the membership? It is presumed that the South know it all, and that the north know nothing. We know that four conferences would vote unanimously, not to receive a slaveholding Bishop. He believed the North would go off generally; though he had been let into no secret on the subject: he only gave it as his opinion. Mr. Cass remarked that Dr. Olin had said that they were bad Methodists, and had better go off as others had done.

Dr. Olin explained; all he said, or meant to say, was, that those who denied the rights of Southern preachers, secured as they were by the Discipline, and who could not wait to have the Discipline altered in a constitutional way, had better go off as some others had done. He said that slaveholding was not a constitutional disqualification for any grade in the ministry. This was what he meant and all he meant, and he wished to be understood; he might have expressed himself not so clearly as desirable, as brethren appeared not to understand him: he had spoken without any preparation. He knew they did not design to misrepresent him.

Mr. Cass resumed, and said, that it had been argued that the Conference could not do away the general superintendency. This, he thought, proved that Bishop Andrew must be removed. His connection with slavery would prevent his discharging the duties of his office in a large portion of the work; his superintendency, therefore, could not be general: and to let him remain was to do away the *general* character of the superintendency.

The speaker said it was of no use to skim over the subject, it would be far better to go to the brethren and meet the question at once. The simple question is this, is slavery, as connected with this man, right or wrong? John Wesley says that "men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers." [Several voices cried, "He has bought no men."] Mr. Cass continued: Mr. Wesley says, "But you may say I buy no men, I only use those left me by my father. So far is very well, but is it enough to satisfy your own conscience? Had your father, have you, has any man living a right to use another as his slave? It cannot be even setting revelation aside. I strike at the root of this complicated

villany. I absolutely deny that slaveholding is consistent with any degree of natural justice, to say nothing about mercy." The speaker added other similar quotations from Mr. Wesley, which appeared to produce some sensation in a certain section of the Conference. He then added, we have been told that this distracting measure would make the sainted spirit of Wesley weep, if spirits could weep over the woes of earth; but he would weep over our connection with slavery.

The hour of adjournment having nearly come, Mr. Cass gave way for a motion to extend the session five minutes, for the purpose of allowing Mr. Early, of Va., to make a few suggestions. This left Mr. Cass in possession of the floor for to-morrow morning. Some confusion followed — Cass complained that he could not make a speech, being thus broken off, and having to begin at both ends. [Laughter.] Mr. Dow interposed in behalf of Mr. Cass, supposing he was cut off by giving Mr. Early the floor. The Bishop explained, that no time was taken from Mr. Cass; but five minutes had been given to Mr. Early after Mr. Cass would of necessity be done, by the arrival of the hour of adjournment, and that Mr. Cass would have the floor by right in the morning. Mr. Early proceeded to occupy his five minutes.

He proposed a plan on which he thought the difficulty might be settled, which was that they should lay the whole subject on the table, and let the delegates go home and lay the difficulties before the annual conferences, and let them give their views and elect delegates with reference to this subject, and instruct them, and let them meet in a special General Conference one year from this time, and settle it. And if they cannot then agree, let them come empowered to divide in peace, and let them do it in a manner to respect themselves and to be respected by others. He said he could not do any such thing, for he had not the power, but he appealed to those who had the majority, if some such measure would not be honorable.

Mr. Early having concluded his remarks the Conference adjourned

Friday, May. 24.

A report was presented from the Book Committee on periodicals, which recommended the continuation of all the General Conference papers, and the adoption of the Northern Advocate, published at Auburn, N. Y., by Rev. Mr. Roby. The report was adopted. So the Northern Advocate is hereafter to be published for the General Conference, and is to be called the Northern Christian Advocate.

The Committee on Episcopacy reported two items. First, requesting one of the Bishops to preach the funeral sermon of Bishop Roberts some time during the Conference. Secondly, that they saw no reason why Bishop Soule might not be governed by his own discretion in relation to the appointment tendered him by the African Institute.

Mr. Crandall said he had a paper in his possession which he wished to go to the Committee on Episcopacy, and moved to suspend the order of the day, that he might present it.

The Conference wished to know what it was, before they could judge whether it was best to suspend the rule.

Mr. Crandall said it was from an old and respectable member of the New England Conference, and that it related to the administration of one of the Bishops.

Bishop Soule said he hoped the Conference would receive it, and have it read and referred. He should exceedingly regret if the Conference should refuse to receive any paper touching the administration of one of the superintendents.

Bishop Waugh said he presumed he knew who it was from, and to what it related. It related, he supposed, to himself, and he hoped the Conference would receive it.

The order of the day was suspended, and the paper was presented. It was from Rev. Joseph A. Merrill, of the New England Conference and related to Bishop Waugh's having ordained a slaveholder, or a man whom he supposed to be a slaveholder, at the time, living in a State where the laws would admit of emancipation.

A motion was made to refer it to the Committee on Episcopacy.

P. P. Sanford opposed the reference, on the ground that it was no cause of complaint, if it was true; for the Bishop had no discretionary power. It was his duty to ordain such men as the Conference elected, and he had no right to refuse to ordain them.

Several others spoke to the same import.

Dr. Bascom said the man referred to was his neighbor, and that he was not a slaveholder at the time nor at the present time.

The Bishop said there should be some proof; he did not remember the conversation described in the paper.

Mr. Randall, of Maine Conference, said he was present at the time referred to, and that he understood the Bishop as Merrill did.

Mr. Collins, of Baltimore Conference, said it was an infamous paper, and he hoped the Conference would vote that the author have leave to withdraw it.

Mr. Slicer, of the same Conference, said the persons did not do their

duty. He read from the Discipline the call which the Bishop makes for objections when he is about to ordain a man, and stated that they ought to have gone forward in the name of God, and forbidden the ordination. Having neglected that duty they had no right to come here with it.

Mr. Randall said he did not know at the time that the law of Kentucky allowed of emancipation, or he should have objected at the time.

Mr. Paine, of Tennessee, said the Bishop would have had no right to have refused to ordain the man if he had objected, as the objection must have been founded upon what could not have been unknown to the Conference.

Mr. Cranch said they were in the habit of doing right in the Kentucky Conference, on slavery in particular. There were some old men in the Conference, who made it their business to watch that subject.

The motion to refer was withdrawn, and it was voted to return the document to Br. Merrill.

The order of the day was then taken up.

The Bishop announced Mr. Cass as being entitled to the floor.

Mr. Cass declined, and Mr. Pierce the younger, of Georgia, obtained the floor.

Mr. Pierce said he could not promise, as some had, new light on the subject, nor did he feel so solicitous as some, about a discussion; for he considered that question already settled, by action on another question. He proposed to animadvert upon the manner in which the measure had been supported. It was by a kind of legerdemain logic that they proved their positions. Abstract propositions were assumed, which no one could or wished to dispute, and then an inductive process was pursued, by which they arrived at final conclusions that had nothing to do with the premises, but which were the offspring of preconceived opinions, and could be connected with the premises by no logical process whatever, reductive or inductive. He said one great source of their sophistry lay in reasoning upon it as upon an abstract question, whereas it was a particular question, involving the rights of the South. He said it was part of a plan which had been devised, slow in progress of developement, but sure in result if not resisted, to degrade and disfranchise all the Southern preachers. He said if there had been no petitions sent to that Conference, the case would have been different, and the action of the South would be different; but as it was, they could not view it only in connection with all other action on the subject of slavery, and all action proposed on the subject; it was connected with the Baltimore appeal case. That had settled the principle with reference to a particular State, and defined the duties of the an-

annual conference with reference to that state. But the Baltimore case was local in actual bearing; but the case now before the Conference would make it general. To pass the resolution would be to take up the principles of the Baltimore case, and apply them to all the slave-holding States. This must revolutionize the church in its polity, if not repealed. The present resolution was of the same character, the same in principle as the Baltimore case: it was collateral in design and effect with that. Say what you will about expediency, and enter what disclaimers you may, it will be regarded as an infraction of the disciplinary rights of Southern preachers. He did not believe so much evil would be the result to the church in the North as was represented if nothing is done; he believed the middle ground men could control it if they would. The difficulty appeared to exist among the preachers more than among the people: persons who were called by the apostle, meddlers with other men's matters. Are we told that New England will suffer? And who but New England has produced the excitement, and given existence to the evil now dreaded? and shall they now be saved from it by destroying the South? Let New England secede: I would to God she would secede, rather than that resolution should pass, and the whole South be ruined. Let them all go! What is New England that she should demand so much at our hands? She has been a thorn in the flesh for the last twenty years—the messenger of Satan to buffet us. If she will not desist from her course of agitation, it would be a blessing to the church if she would secede; we should then have peace. We are at peace in the South; we dwell by the side of still waters, and feed in green pastures, and the God of peace is with us.

But will you get rid of division, if you succeed by the passage of that resolution in putting down secession in the North? I think not; the very measure you propose will inevitably produce division in another direction; the preachers and people even in the North, will still be divided; and division once begun, where will it end? Methodism will change its character, Episcopacy will be repudiated, itinerancy will decline, and Congregationalism will take its place, and we shall see men standing in the market places, who will answer, when asked why stand you here all the day idle, because no man hath hired us. If I consulted Southern interests alone, I should court division; but I look to the interests of the whole. Suppose you pass that resolution, what will be the condition of Bishop Andrew? He must be a Bishop in duress, in bonds. What will you do with him? He is a Bishop, and cannot be appointed to a circuit or station: and who will receive him as their

preacher? The North, you say, will not. Will his friends, who are opposed to the measure, and who will look upon it as an infraction of Southern rights, and a degradation of the Southern ministry? I think they would not receive the man who would submit to such oppression. Did I not think others more capable to speak upon the subject than myself, I would trespass upon your patience by the hour. I assure you the union ends if the Bishop is not suffered to pass without having a blot fixed upon him by this Conference. It is admitted by the other side, that he is pure and spotless, that he is every way qualified for the Christian ministry, and that he is every way qualified for the office he fills. What do brethren mean by such remarks, while they are pressing a measure to degrade him? Are they heaping garlands upon the victim before they have bound him for the sacrifice? Will you immolate such a man upon this altar of perdition, and shall we sit still and see this pure man sacrificed? It must go out as a question of right; the simple question is, has he a right to hold slaves by the Discipline of the church? If you pass that vote, you say that he has no right to hold slaves; and in so saying, you condemn every slaveholding minister in the South. Pause, brethren, I entreat you, pause before you take a step so fatal to the interests of the Southern church.

A. B. Longstreet, of Georgia next obtained the floor. He said it was the first time he ever attended the General Conference, and he thought it would be the last, if they held together, for he thought he should never consent to come again. He wished to say one word to the majority. He said the history of all churches was nearly the same. While churches have been contented to occupy their appropriate sphere and attend to the preaching of the gospel, and opposing and rooting out all evil by the simple preaching of the gospel, without attempting to interfere with the civil power, their success was wonderful; heathenism melted away under the power of the gospel; darkness was scattered by the light of truth, and heathen temples fell to the ground, and their idols were given to the moles and the bats. Their rules were then few and simple, but as they increased they formed what you call the church, and they soon begun to incorporate human legislation with the divine law. The speaker said he had not time to give the history of the Romish Church, but he would say, after she once began to resort to human devices and human power to build up the church, the progress was rapid until every monstrosity of which the human mind could conceive was palmed off as by divine authority. First, a man became a Bishop, then a Bishop over a Bishop, then he claimed a power over sin, and finally divine supremacy. Such was the progress of the first,

an lonce pure church ; and if you believe that, aside from grace, you are made of sterner or purer material, you are mistaken. Can you read your own records, and not see that you are rapidly on your way to that church? Will you do what Christ tolerated? Will you forbid those that cast out devils? for you will not deny that slaveholders have been successful preachers. I fear you are about to do this. I have feared you would undertake to reform the world by other principles than the gospel, and what will then support the interests of Methodism? What but Christ can support, and will you abandon this trust and resort to your own expedients? Sooner give Methodism to the winds than sustain it by such measures. You have enacted one rule against slavery, and now that rule constitutes you a court above all the civil authority of the country. The speaker said he must enter his protest against all new tests of membership and ministerial character. Some would make slavery a test ; some would have a temperance test, and some would have an education test ; but he protested against them all. He had no bitterness in his heart to that abolition brother, pointing to Mr. Cass, of N. H. Where are we? The truth is doubtless between us somewhere. When Methodism commenced it found slavery in the country, and it protested against it, and that was more than Christ did ; it was more than the apostles did ; they went beyond the Bible. The church commenced her opposition to slavery by exhibiting those pure principles of the gospel which could not fail to show the wrong of slavery, if it be an evil. She then, however, taught the doctrine of voluntary emancipation only, and they were successful in it ; hundreds were emancipated, and they loved one another, the slave received his liberty as a gratuity, and was thankful to the master for it, and it increased the band of friendship between them.

The speaker then took up the rule on slavery, and read and commented upon it. When any travelling preacher becomes the owner of a slave or slaves, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our church, unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves. This was going a great ways, but the South loved the church and dreaded division. This was the beginning of the encroachment upon their rights, and they submitted to it for the sake of peace. But soon came another rule, which required the preachers to enforce the necessity upon masters of teaching their slaves to read the word of God. And again the South submitted for the sake of the union of the Church. Soon came another rule, conferring upon colored preachers and official members, common rights and privileges in the quarterly conferences. [See last Sec. of the Discipline.] To all these advances the South has

submitted, only protesting against such and all of them, as injurious to them and the interests of the colored people in the South. We have thus far yielded to every exaction, and yet you give us no credit, and represent us as constantly encroaching upon the North. You do not know what we have suffered on this score. And after all this you are not satisfied yet; for the last ten years petitions have been pouring in upon us. At each General Conference on come these slavery petitions, and a committee must be appointed, and those petitions must be referred notwithstanding the petitioners admit in these very documents, that they appeal to a body that has not the power necessary to afford the desired relief. At last one of the highest officers of the church, Bishop Andrew, had become connected with slavery, and he felt the difficulty growing out of this constant agitation of the subject so great that he had made up his mind to resign, but before he took the step he felt it his duty to consult with those who were in the same circumstances with himself, and every man of them told him it would never do; they could never submit to it, it would crush and ruin us. We cannot lie down and see our rights trampled upon. If slaveholding disqualifies him for the office of Bishop, it disqualifies him for a minister; and if it disqualifies him, it disqualifies us all, and our constitutional rights must stand or fall with his: and can we expect to be silent and see him crushed, knowing that we must be the victims of the next motion of the wheel. Pass that resolution, and our rights are stricken to the ground. It gives us great pain to place the Bishop in such circumstances, but we cannot help it. In the spirit of magnanimity which belongs to him, he would have resigned had he alone been the sufferer: but our rights are identified with his, and we must resist any further encroachment.

But what is the bearing of the argument on the other side. So far as mere words are concerned, you have treated us kindly, but there is an eloquence in actions and positions which outweighed them all and those actions and positions go to impeach Bishop Andrew. He has been driven from his place for days. Does Christianity require submission of the South to all this, and is it to be wondered at, if under such circumstances the South should not weigh these smooth words in golden scales. What means this motion requesting his resignation, if you have as high a respect for the Bishop as you declare in words? During a whole day in debate on the motion, not one speaker took the ground taken in the resolution, and before you gave us time to speak, or before the Bishop himself had been heard, the motion requesting him to resign is changed, for a substitute which requests him to refrain.

from the exercise of his office until this impediment is removed. I know not what force your request is intended to possess, and until this is defined I must regard it as an entering wedge for final expulsion. I should like to see the sentiments of the speakers, as expressed in their speeches, put into a preamble to the resolution, and presented to the public. Would they be willing to meet it in that connection? It would read thus:—

“*Whereas*, Bishop Andrew is a man of God, of ardent piety, pure and spotless character, a bright and shining light in the Church; and whereas he is eminently qualified for his office and universally acceptable in those conferences where he has been called to labor and preside; and whereas we do not believe that he has, in becoming connected with slavery, violated any rule of the Methodist Discipline, or sinned against God, and whereas we do not believe that slavery is sin under all circumstances, nevertheless as he has become connected with slavery, from mere motives of expediency,

“*Resolved*, That it is the wish of this Conference that he cease from exercising the functions of his office till this impediment be removed.”

Is there one man in the Conference that would be willing to meet it in that form? Will you embody it in a resolution as I have given it, and send it out to the world as your decree? And yet this is the issue presented in the case. Where is the discontent to allay which it is necessary to sacrifice Bishop Andrew? In all his intercourse he had not found one, who for himself was not willing to receive Bishop Andrew. Why would not the bishop be received as well as the slaveholding delegates were received in the city of New York. I dare not speak of the kind and affectionate reception the Southern delegates have met with in this church, lest I should be thought a flatterer, but I will say their kindness has given them a seat in the warmest chamber of our affections. Is it the people then that will not receive Bishop Andrew because he is a slaveholder? You send us out to preach and we have crowded houses, and we have seen some of you who manifest such great sensibility on the subject of a slaveholding Bishop, shedding tears of sympathy, and mingle your tears with those of a slaveholding preacher. I have lately been in New England, and even there was I kindly treated by the people, and I am satisfied that it is not the people but the preachers that are unwilling to receive Bishop Andrew, if any body is unwilling to receive him.

Now let me inquire what the Bishop does that renders it so much more objectionable to have him connected with slavery than other

preachers. Does it disqualify him for the work he is required to perform among you, when he attends your conferences? He presides in your conferences, and will any one say that it disqualifies him for that work? He ordains your preachers, and does it disqualify him for that work, since you acknowledge that he is a good and worthy minister, and that the power to ordain belongs to him by right of order? He appoints the preachers, and does the fact that he is connected with slavery disqualify him for that? There must be some secret, some mysterious disqualification which we cannot learn from the arguments.

Let me inquire whether we are to submit to a wrong popular opinion or feeling. If I understand you, that must be the ground of your arguments. That Bishop Andrew is a good man and a good minister, no one has yet denied, and if he is a good minister, his rejection must rest upon the fact that popular feeling is against him. Such has been the argument from the beginning. Carry out this principle, and where will it end? Suppose the popular feeling gets up against wine at the sacrament, then, by this argument, you must put it away. I was a temperance man when every Methodist was opposed to me, and this conference would have voted me down on the temperance question, but now you wish to pass a rule which will expel all who have any thing to do with spirits. It appears to me that you are making fearful progress.

I wish to advert to the consequences which must follow from the doctrine of the resolution. I understand the doctrine to be, that if a Methodist preacher marries a woman who holds slaves, he should be deposed. Let me then say that there are but few educated women in the South who do not hold slaves, and the consequence is, that Methodist preachers must not marry, or they must come North after their wives. Is this to be adopted as the sentiment of this conference? I do not know, [looking up into the gallery, which was filled with ladies,] I do not know that the fair of this land would be willing to accept of such an advantage, but it would be of great advantage if Methodist preachers were worth having. [Laughter.] But there are various ways in which persons living in the midst of slavery may become slaveholders, without any desire for it on their part. No man can live in a slaveholding community, and possess the common relations and live in the common associations of life, without being liable every day to become legally possessed of slaves. Business men fail, and he may become possessed of slaves as a creditor, and, to say he would not take them under such circumstances would be saying he would not do business. Friends may die and leave them a part of an estate to be settled, and they must be disposed of in the settlement of the estate, for they can-

not be emancipated if the estate is involved, and if it is not, the law forbids emancipation, and some of the heirs may not be of age, so as to render it possible to dispose of the estate in law. Now I understand the doctrine of the resolution to be, that if a man in any way becomes connected with slavery, it is a disqualification.

And here it is necessary that I should notice the construction that is put upon the rule in the case. It has been contended that if it be possible in any way to get rid of slaves, the rule is violated, or that it is a ground of complaint if he does not. But is this the rule? Not a word is said about getting rid of them in any way, but only about executing a legal emancipation conformably to the laws of the state in which he lives, *if it be practicable*. It has been shown that it is not practicable for Bishop Andrew to execute a legal emancipation; such a document could not be admitted to record. But it has been said he may move out of the state. This may be; but is it the law? Does the expression "execute a deed of emancipation conformable to the laws of the state in which he lives" mean move out of the state? The logic is this: the Discipline requires a preacher to emancipate his slaves according to the law of the state in which he lives, therefore he must move out of the state or be deposed. Was this the understanding any of us had of that clause when we joined the church, and when we took orders in the church? it must be seen that the law means no such thing, and you have no right to go beyond the lay of the compact.

But you go further than this and say that a man ought to avail himself of the control the law of the State gives him over the property of his wife, for the purpose of sending it away at the North; yea, it has been argued that he should avail himself of the warm affections of the wife which gave him a control over her heart and will, to dispossess her of what was hers by law. I have often seen the consequences of that law which gives the husband control over the property of the wife, while by another principle he has control over her heart. Her patrimony has often been launched forth in business, and swallowed up in the whirlpool of speculation, and she, who had enough to have made her comfortable, has been reduced to poverty and wretchedness. Are you prepared to say that you will require a Methodist preacher to avail himself of the control he has over the wife of his bosom, on account of the love she bears to him, to obtain possession of that which the law gives to her, to dispose of it with bettering the condition of the slave, merely to dissolve a legal relation which you admit is not sinful?

But where is your power to suspend Bishop Andrew without impeachment? You have no power to do away the general superintendency,

and if you suspend the Bishop, you will do it away, so far as he is concerned, for he will still be a general superintendent in office, without performing the work of general superintendent.

You propose to suspend him until he is free from the embarrassment, which I suppose means until he shall emancipate his slaves. This, I maintain, it is impossible that he should do. Suppose he could get clear from the first two cases, the third has been made the strongest. These slaves are not his: it was understood before they were married that they should not be his, and since they were married, that understanding has been put into a legal instrument, by which the title is vested in her. Now it is a universal principle of law, that all contracts are binding everywhere, according to the intent and meaning of the law where the contract is made. Those slaves cannot therefore belong to Bishop Andrew, and he can have no right to emancipate them, nor would a change of location alter the case; for should he remove to the hot-bed of abolitionism, the obligation in the case would remain the same. As the contract was made in Georgia, he is, and must be bound by it according to the meaning and intent of the law of Georgia. Did I say hot-bed? I will take it back, lest I offend. I will say the pristine purity of New England abolitionism, cannot now absolve him from those obligations which were formed, not under New England laws, but under the laws of Georgia. As he cannot now emancipate his slaves, if you suspend him until the embarrassment is removed, you suspend him for ever. The position of Bishop Andrew is covered by the rule of the church, in its plain common sense meaning, and the measure must and will be regarded as a violation of the law, and hence an infraction of rights; for we are entitled to all the law gives us, until the law is repealed. I entreat brethren to remember what a small infraction of right once led to the decapitation of the king of England, and the setting up of the Protector. Our motto is, let justice be done, though the heavens *rush*.

But you say he might have emancipated his slaves when he was first married, because the law pronounced them his as soon as she became his wife. But he did not consider them his, and it was understood before, that they should not be his. But he could not even then have emancipated them, for if he had made out a deed of emancipation, the law of the State would not have admitted it to record, but would have pronounced it null and void. But he did not do it but deeded them back to his wife, and it cannot now be helped. Suppose he had sold them, it would be beyond his power to undo the act; he might repent, but it would be impossible to recal the act. If he were able, he might do as one did, sell his slaves and come North, become a flaming aboli-

tionist, and then go and buy them back: but to require this, would be to involve all who have ever trafficked in slaves. We ought to tread lightly upon the ashes of the dead. Nearly all have in some way been involved in the traffic.

But, brethren, let me say that I do not know how to meet you, you have so many opinions among yourselves. Some of you contend that slavery is a sin under all circumstances, and others embrace an opposite sentiment. Would it not be well to settle these matters among yourselves, before you undertake to settle our matters. Some of you call yourselves middle men, and you claim to occupy a position between the abolitionists of the North and the strong slavery men of the South. You tell us that you love both, and lay one hand on the shoulder of the North, and one hand on the shoulder of the South, and hold us. It appears to me that you put one hand on the shoulder of the North, and with the other take hold of the throat of the South. You tell us you love us. Well, we pray you do not in one of your spasms of love choke us to death.

I must notice another point. The delegates of the Baltimore Conference said they would set aside the decree of this Conference, if the Conference set their decision aside and returned that man upon their hands a slaveholder. Then they entreated you, do not do this thing, for if you do we shall be constrained to — spit in your face. They avowed that they will do just as they please on the subject of slavery, and if so why may we not do the same? We may take our Bishop, regardless of your resolutions requesting him to resign, and when you call us to an account, we can tell you we have only carried out the doctrine of the Baltimore Conference. If this be correct doctrine, we are independent of you, — but the doctrine is new to us, we have always submitted to your decrees.

This Conference is doubtless influenced by the petitions that have been presented from the Northern conferences. Well, we could present counter petitions, were we disposed: we could present the name of every member from the Potomac to the Sabine. They would all pray you not to meddle with the subject.

One word concerning the Episcopacy. I believe a Bishop is made a Bishop for life, and must remain for life, unless removed by impeachment. One brother said, if a Bishop should become an abolitionist, he would vote requesting him to resign; but I could not do it, unless I considered abolitionism a sufficient ground of impeachment to expel him. We might not respect him for his abolitionism, but we would respect the office, and receive him as a Bishop, did he not trouble us with his peculiar views. I respect the Bishops, and I will say to that one who

declared that he did not wish to survive the integrity of the church, that when division shall be rife, when strife shall prevail, when the most bitter contention shall rage among Christian brethren, and when the unsanctified passions shall be roused into a storm, and the interests of our own fair and beloved Zion laid waste, we will pour our tears upon his rent and anguish smitten bosom. And in that hour we shall enjoy the consolation of knowing that we never agitated the subject.

This is not the course holy men of old pursued on these subjects. St. Paul did not pursue such a course; he sent Onesimus back to his master, Philemon, from whom he had escaped. This does not look as though he made it a point to interfere with the civil relations; as though he believed that no man could be a slaveholder and be a Christian. Dr. Clarke admits that Onesimus was a slave, and he remarks that it is wonderful that this short epistle, containing no essential doctrines, and no general directions to the church, should have been preserved. And while other epistles have been disputed this has never been by any part of the church. But now it appears plain to me, why this epistle has been preserved; it is that men may see that it is possible to hold slaves and go to heaven. I have not got much religion, but I have got enough to lay down all that comes between me and heaven. Convince me that it is a sin to hold a slave under the circumstances, and I will yield. If all should turn their slaves loose at once, it would be a great evil: it is therefore better that the relation should be preserved. This appears to have been the opinion of St. Paul, and hence he sent a runaway slave home; and an angel did the same by Hagar. You cannot, brethren lay your finger on a text that says no man can sold slaves and be a Christian. The man whom the Saviour declared had the greatest faith he had found in all Israel, was a slaveholder. He said, I am a man in authority having servants under me. This, Dr. Clarke renders, "having slaves under me." The parable of the ungrateful servant is another illustration. His master ordered him sold and payment to be made. This shows that a man may be sold, and that, of course, he may be property.

The speaker closed by exhorting the Conference to come back to the principles upon which they began, and stop this church legislation about things that belong to the civil powers; to do what they can to teach the slave, and leave the evil to work out its own cure.

A motion was made for an afternoon session.

A motion was then made to lay that motion on the table, which was lost.

A motion was then made to amend the motion for an afternoon session so as to confine it to ordinary business, letting the discussion in progress rest. This was also lost. Mr. Winans spoke against an afternoon

session. He said it was the young men that voted against the motion to lay upon the table. He presumed it was not because young men had a less regard for the interests of the church, but because they did not feel the pressure of continued application to business as old men did. He felt confident it would be a loss of time in the end. They were not able to continue so many hours in close application to business, without becoming exhausted. They should all be better prepared to hear and weigh argument to-morrow morning." If we press the discussion forward we shall get up an excitement unfriendly to a calm and thorough discussion.

Charles Adams, of New England Conference, said he agreed with the last speaker, the subject had assumed a serious aspect; he had given up all idea of going home, and had written a letter to his family that they need not expect him before July.

The motion was withdrawn, and the discussion resumed.

J. T. Peck, of the Troy Conference, said he did not rise to reply to the last speaker—he was too old a man to be replied to by one as young as himself; there were, however, he supposed, men of equal years who would pay due respect to the able arguments of that gentleman. My object, said Mr. Peck, is, to pay some attention to the arguments of the young gentleman who addressed the Conference this morning, [Mr. Pierce, of Georgia.] The gentleman remarked that the supporters of the resolution had resorted to a sort of legerdemain logic, and that this consisted in the statement of abstract propositions, from which conclusions are drawn that have nothing to do with the propositions. But he gave us no instance in which this has been done. It would certainly have been very appropriate and logical, and very much to his cause, could he have done it; but as he did not, and as he is a learned man, we will call that part of his speech beautiful declamation, and let it go.

He charges us with making it an abstract question. What he means by an abstract question, I do not exactly understand; but if he means by its being abstract, that it is to affect the Bishop merely and not affect the rights of other Southern preachers, that is precisely our view of it. But he insisted that it is a practical question. Well, I will let him have it his own way, and join issue on this ground. Let it be remembered then, that we have never had a slaveholding Bishop, and the issue is easily made up, and it is this: shall we change? He said the question had already been decided. What then are we doing here, if the case has already been decided?

Mr. Pierce explained that his meaning was, that it had been decided prospectively.

Mr. Peck replied, a retrospective settlement of the question would have been a novelty indeed. I ask again, if it has been settled even prospectively, what are we doing, and why are we debating it? But others differ in opinion from the gentleman on the subject. I will admit that it has some features in common with the case referred to; but in other respects it was different. But whether the two cases were the same or not in all points, he trusted his friend would allow that there was difference enough to furnish a rallying point upon which they could debate it, and decide it again. He insisted that it was the design of those who supported the measure, to disfranchise all Southern preachers. And how came he to understand our design? Why does he leave our argument and look after our designs? Does he find it easier to answer our designs than our arguments? We design by it to disfranchise all the Southern preachers! No such thing will be the result of the passage of that resolution. No such thing is designed by the supporters of it. I feel called upon to disclaim any such design in behalf of all the conferences, North and East. I never heard such a word from any man, nor do I believe there is a man in the North that has any such wish in his heart. All we ask is, to have the matter put back where it was at the beginning, and where it remained, up to the time when Bishop Andrew became connected with slavery. The argument of the brother from Georgia, by which he proves that we intend to disfranchise, must be this: a slaveholder cannot be a Bishop, therefore a slaveholder cannot be a preacher. This does not follow: The argument rests upon the false principle, that a man has a right to be a Bishop, which is not true. No man has a constitutional right to be a Bishop as a man has a right to be a preacher, or as a probationer has a right to admission into full connection. Who can claim the right of being a Bishop?

But the resolution does not say, in effect, that a slaveholder cannot be a Bishop, and I do not wish to say any such thing: I do not even wish to say that a rumseller cannot be a Bishop; though I think it would be very improper to make a rumselling Bishop. It is not necessary to say that a slaveholder cannot be a Bishop, that matter will be settled by the election, and will be safe left in the hands of the Conference. I hope it will never become necessary to say what is requisite for a Bishop: the Conference can judge what qualifications are necessary, and who possesses them, and will come to the best and safest conclusion by being left to a free election. Then when the Conference finds a man that will answer the purpose, they can use him, and reject such as will not answer. Secessions have already taken place, and if we return home with a slaveholding Bishop, still larger secessions will take place.

The speaker said Mr. Peck, made some allusions to New England on this subject, which I was sorry to hear. I prefer the language of some other brethren from the south. "Let New England secede," was the language. Never! it must not be. That brother should know that the South cannot get half way to New England. They will find Baltimore a formidable obstacle in the way: and could they pass her, they would find New York still in the way, and when they should get to New England, they will find that she will present an impregnable wall which will defy their assaults. It is not a question between us and New England; we differ not in sentiment, but only in measures, and she appears destined to roll the wave over the entire Northern States. Let New England go! Never! New England is the land of the Pilgrims; the land where Methodism was first planted by Jesse Lee; the land that has produced a Soule and a Hedding. I am proud to refer to it as the land of my birth. We will not let her go. When it comes to that, the South will find us side by side with her in battle; nor will we allow her to vex us to let the South go: she cannot provoke us to it. I would say to the brethren from the South, we love you, and we cannot give you up. We love you for your piety, but most of all for your adherence to the Discipline. We love you for your conservatism, though it is ultra. We will not let you go, if you will live with us upon the same principles upon which we have lived and labored together for the last forty years.

At this point, the hour having arrived, the Conference adjourned, leaving Mr. Peck on the floor.

Saturday, May 25.

Bishop Morris in the chair. Prayer by A. Wiley, of Indiana Conference.

The Book Committee made a report, which was laid upon the table.

The Committee on Itinerancy reported that they had examined with care the journals of the several annual conferences for the last four years, and found them correct with but few exceptions. Among the exceptions were the following named:

The Ohio Conference had not a full record of the trial of one of its members.

New Hampshire Conference had passed a resolution, which required the same certificate of widows living without the bounds of the Conference, in order to draw on the funds, as is required of a superannuated preacher.

Baltimore Conference settles with the preachers according to the amount of deficit, and not according to the whole claim of each preacher.

The Black River Conference passed a resolution, instructing the preachers to bring rumsellers to trial and expel them, under the General Rule, which requires us to do no harm.

The report concluded, with resolutions for the adoption of the Conference, suited to meet and correct these several cases. Laid upon the table.

Dr. Peck reported an address to the Canada Conference, which was adopted.

The Committee on Episcopacy reported that they had examined the character and administration of the Bishops for the last four years, and found them worthy of all approbation, excepting so much as had already been reported with reference to Bishop Andrew. Adopted.

The order of the day was then taken up, and J. T. Peck, who had the floor when the Conference adjourned, resumed his argument.

Mr. Peck said he would have been glad to have finished his remarks yesterday, and imperfect and unfinished as they were, he would have been willing to have left them without another word, had it not been for the opinion of friends, to whose judgement he was always willing to submit. Ten years, said the speaker, and our glorious itinerancy and our time honored Episcopacy will have expired! The confidence which has heretofore been reposed in these glorious institutions will no longer be able to support them; the arm of God which has been beneath and round about us will be withdrawn, and the light of Methodism, itinerant Methodism, which has enlightened the land, and which has begun to break upon the heathen world like the refulgence of morn, will be extinguished! Only ten years before all this is to transpire!

Being only a child in these matters, I am led to inquire into the cause that is thus to interrupt our progress, and put an end to our prosperity. What is the reason assigned for all this? The plain reason, when stripped of all its drapery and divested of all the rhetorical flowers with which speakers have adorned it, is simply this, and no more than this, we are about to say in this Conference that the Episcopacy and slavery cannot be united! I repeat it, all this is to come upon us because we do not choose to have a slaveholding Bishop! I ask, then the cause why such results will follow such a measure. Will the system lose any of its purity? Will it have any less simplicity? Will it have any less of its almost supernatural adaption to the wants of the world? What essential principle will be taken out, or what corner stone will be removed by refusing to have a slaveholding Bishop? Because we will

not consent to trammel an officer with an embarrassment peculiar to a single limb of the tree of Methodism, must the whole tree be bent down? Will the act disrobe it of any of its beauty or render it any the less rich and abundant in its fruit?

If God forsake us we are ruined beyond recovery, hopelessly ruined. But will God be angry with us because we refuse to have a slaveholding Bishop. God has not been angry with us for the last fifty years, though we have been so careless as to live without a slaveholding Bishop. The brother's prediction on this subject, that all these evils are to come upon us if we refuse to have a slaveholding Bishop, appears to me to partake largely of the character of romance, and I know not how to account for it upon the principle of the logermain logic of which my friend spoke. When the argument is reversed, and it is insisted that the General Conference should not forsake the old paths by introducing slavery into the Episcopacy, it is sound, and the reasons rest upon a firm foundation.

There is one peculiarity in all the speeches of our Southern brethren, which I feel called upon to notice. They constantly call upon us to pause before we take another step. There are circumstances when it would be the height of wisdom to pause and reflect before action, but this appears not to be one of those cases. Suppose my neighbor should move his fence on my land, and I require him to move it back, and he begins to cry, Pause! I beseech you to pause before you take another step in this business! I say to him, It would have been well for you to have paused before you moved your fence upon my land, and it will be time enough for me to pause when you shall have moved it back. The application of this is plain. Has my neighbor moved his fence? Or in other words, has the aggression commenced on the part of the North or the South? — I use the term aggression in its softest sense. — The whole history proves that the aggression has been on the part of the South. Have we ever said you have not equal rights with the North? Have we once invaded your rights, or suffered the abolitionists to invade your rights, since abolitionism had its being? If we have not held an even balance, we have more reason to ask the pardon of the abolitionists of the East than the slaveholders of the South. If we have received abolition petitions, we have not granted their requests. The causes that have produced the present state of things have been beyond our control, but are they any the less portentous to us because we cannot control them? We have no right to elect a Bishop for the North or the South. This has been admitted by a distinguished brother of the South. We cannot limit the Conference to any section in the election of Bishops, and we cannot limit the

Bishops themselves to any section, and hence the Conference must select men who are available for every part of the work. Here I would say, Pause, set no bounds, say not that we must have a Southern man or a Northern man. Let the office be given to the man who is the most available, all things considered. We have difficulties to meet among friends and foes on this subject, and I think we shall only increase them by attempting to settle any general principle. Leave the question free with the General Conference, let the Conference be left free to elect a slaveholding Bishop whenever a majority shall think a slaveholder the best man and most available. There is no objection to electing a slaveholding Bishop, abstractly considered; the objection is not to electing, but to having a slaveholding Bishop. There is no objection to electing a slaveholding Bishop but what grows out of the objection to having one. Bishop Andrew will pardon me if he be present, for alluding to this delicate subject; I would not do it, did not the argument require it. In effect the case is the same, as though the General Conference should elect a slaveholding Bishop. We cannot then take this responsibility, knowing as we do that it will not be for the good of the church.

Had I entertained any doubts of the magnanimity of our Southern bretheren, their course in frankly avowing their real sentiments would have removed my doubts on the subject, but still there is one feature in their mode of discussing this subject, to which I cannot reconcile my feelings. They cannot forget that their missions are under the control of men who have common sympathy with us, which naturally suggests to their minds the consequences of division; but why should they continually dwell upon the subject of a division of the Church? Can it be that they intend by this course to frighten us from a free discussion of the subject? It is enough to frighten any man as they present it, almost enough to drive us away from our moral principle, but that must not be. Let me entreat them to let that slumber for a few days, until we look the subject before us full in the face and settle it. I cannot bear to think of it. And it has been more than intimated from both the North and the South, that civil division may follow as one of the consequences of the proposed measure. I see at once before my mind a division of the civil union and our republic broken up, and its elements warring with each other. I see our Southern missions broken up, ourselves so divided and distracted as not to be able to sustain our foreign missions. I see the barriers to Catholicism remove, and its fearful influence sweeping over our country. I beg brethren to let these matters sleep, while we calmly settle the question before us. One thought more. Br. Green asked what would be the relation of the Bishop if the resolution passed

and what would be done with him. Why ask that question when we declare we do not touch his moral character, or his ministerial character. Why ask that question, when the whole South lies open before him, through the whole of which he is greatly respected and beloved. We have been asked if we were adorning with garlands the victim we intend to immolate? We answer no, we do not intend to immolate Bishop Andrew. It is due to him, to the South, and to ourselves, to declare that we do not touch his ministerial character; the vote is designed only to effect his office. We love and venerate Bishop Andrew, and hence it gives us the greater pain to touch him; we would not lay a hand upon him, but we know the consequences if we do not. Situated as we are, compelled to act against the man whom we all love and venerate, to save the Church, our Southern brethren ought to respect us for the courage with which we walk up and take hold of it. Every tender feeling of the soul is stirred within us, and all our regard for the man increases our difficulty. We need your sympathy and your prayers, when driven by necessity, for nothing but necessity could drive us to such a measure. The last speaker said there was sympathy in the Conference, and sympathy in the gallery: that sympathy was found in female virtue. If so, let it flow, for we need it, let that sympathy flow for us and our beloved Bishop. It will find its expression in the North, in view of the necessity by which we are compelled to act.

I must ask pardon for the emotion with which I referred to New England last evening. There are many associations connected with New England calculated to awaken emotions in my soul. It is the land of my fathers; it is the land of two of our Bishops; the land of Dr. Olin's nativity; it is the land of our fallen and lamented Fisk. Can we be silent and feel no emotion, when called upon to give up New England, while her heavens are yet radiant with the mild and lingering glory of our once beloved but now sainted Fisk?

I have only to add in conclusion, that I love the M. E. Church; I love her doctrines, her government, her episcopacy, her officers, her whole economy; and I feel disposed to stick to the old ship yet. She may have to encounter storms, she is now enveloped in clouds and storm, and is tempest-tost, but she will yet safely reach the harbor. Another vessel may come up along side, she may rise in beauty and spread her canvass wide to the breeze, but brethren, look well to her ballast before you leave the old ship to go on board. I close with the oft repeated exclamation, "Don't give up the ship."

Mr. Pierce, of Georgia, wished to explain. He said he should be glad to reply, but he could not do that but by courtesy. He had been

accused of reasoning upon the principle that a man has a constitutional right to be a Bishop. He remarked that he did believe a bishop had a constitutional right to be a bishop the whole length of term for which he was elected, unless he forfeited that right by some violation of the rules of the Church.

As to what he had said about the secession of New England, he thought that she owed him a great debt of gratitude for his remarks, as they had furnished a subject so well suited to the peculiar talent of the last speaker, by whom she had been so ably defended. But when he said let, New England go, he meant no more than that it would be better for her to secede than to sacrifice Bishop Andrew, an innocent man, who had violated no rule of the Discipline, upon the altar of pseudo expediency.

By the epithet, nervous excitement, which he applied to New England, he meant abolitionism. If all were engaged in that, he meant all. He admitted that New England had produced noble sons. Dr. Olin was one of them, and he should venerate him, whatever his vote might be on the question pending.

Mr. Pierce concluded his explanations by saying that notwithstanding his speech had so dreadfully shocked Mr. Peck's nerves, he hoped his explanation would not ruffle a hair upon the crown of his head. This remark caused a hearty laugh, and both parties appeared to feel the better natured for it.

Mr. Green, of Tennessee Conference, next obtained the floor, and spoke against the resolution. He said he was not in the habit of crowding himself upon the attention of others, but it was common to discharge the light guns first, and then bring on the heavy ordnances afterwards. He would get out of the way as soon as possible, for he knew others wished to speak. He was not grey, nor did he wear a furrowed face, but still he was among the fathers of the Church. When he went to his first circuit, he left home with a mother's blessing, who was a Methodist before any one in that Conference was born. He had been a Methodist thirty years, and twenty years had he been in the ministry. I am not a minister, said the speaker, of the South nor of the North, but of the whole Church.

I hope you will bear with me, brethren, and allow me to be a little desultory. I wish to talk a little about a division of the Church. My feelings for the last two days have been beyond what I can describe. I am not generally thought to be an alarmist. I was never frightened before in my life. I have been among bears, wolves, panthers, and wild cats, and thought I had been scared; — but I am now convinced

I never was, for I never felt before as I have for the last two days. I never thought of any thing but of serving the church, and it may be that this has come upon me for a punishment for being proud of the church. I saw the church stand out so prominent, and heard wise statesmen say that it was the cement of our political union. I have heard them say our preachers were the men who were the real workers in the vineyard of the Lord: that some of them were not very good writers, but they all knew how to make their mark. But what have I seen the three past days? I have viewed her in another point of light: I have seen her laboring at sea; the mighty billows lift her high, the yawning gulf threatens to swallow her up, the tempest howls, the swift winds drive her through the mist and spray and gloom that settle upon the brow of the stormy night; she feels not her helm, and fearful rocks lie in her course, upon which I see her about to break! As I have contemplated these things, my heart has quailed within me. I am no orator, no president, no doctor, no lawyer; I am only a plain Methodist preacher, and can talk to you only in a plain, common sense style. I am not only a preacher, but I am a philanthropist; I never saw a man for whom I had not the feeling of a brother, of whatever country or complexion he might be. I am known and published in my own country as a peace man. I would say to the men opposed to the South, that I have never said much on the subject of abolition, but I have thought much. I have read the account of West India emancipation: I have lived amid slavery in the South, I have attended abolition meetings in the North, and have taken the papers and known all about it.

But I must speak to the main question. It appears to me that Dr. Bangs, brother Sanford and others who have spoken, are all wrong. I have been astonished above measure at the position they have taken, that a bishop may be dismissed at pleasure by the General Conference. The illustrations that have been introduced are very unfortunate. To rank a bishop with a book agent, or an editor, is an extreme to which I did not believe brethren would go. There is a wide difference; the book agent and editor are merely appointed to the office but the bishop is inducted into his by the solemnities of a separate ordination. Let us look at the ordination service. The person to be ordained bishop is asked the following question:—"Are you persuaded that you are truly called to this ministration according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ?" To this the candidate is required to answer, "I am so persuaded."

Can any one make himself believe that such a question can be answered in such a way by an honest and reasonable man, if it be con-

sidered at the time a mere appointment to an office from which he may be dismissed at pleasure, without impeachment? If the illustration be to the point, it would be just as proper to make the book agents swear that they believed that they are called to their office according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ. Again, when a bishop is ordained, the ordaining bishop laying his hands on the head of the candidate, says: — "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands, in the name of the Father, and the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Such language does not suppose that a bishop is a mere officer of the General Conference, to be dismissed at pleasure, without impeachment.

Again when an editor or book agent is appointed, it is done for a given period of time, at the expiration of which he is re-elected, or another one elected in his place but a bishop is not elected for a limited time, and is never re-elected.

Again, when one of these bishops becomes infirm, so as not to discharge the duties of the office, you do not dismiss him from the office as you do a book agent or an editor, but he remains a bishop still.

It has been asked if bishop Hedding should marry a colored woman, if the conference would not have power to ask him to resign? The answer is, if the Discipline made provisions for such marriages under certain circumstances, and the bishop's marriage could not be proved to be contrary to those provisions, the conference could not call him to an account for it. The Discipline does make provisions for slaveholding under certain circumstances, and these are the very circumstances under which bishop Andrew is a slaveholder.

Another case will serve as an illustration. Suppose the bishop should become a wine dealer: if the Discipline provides that preachers may be wine sellers under some circumstances, you must first prove that the bishop's case is not provided for in law, before you can sustain any charge against him. It cannot then be shown that bishop Andrew has violated any part of the Discipline; but on the other hand, it is clear that the circumstances under which he holds slaves are precisely the circumstances provided for in the Discipline.

Brother Peck brought an illustration of a fence, which he supposed to have been moved from its proper place. But I would ask him where he finds any fence running through the church. "Is it in the New Testament? Is it in the Old Testament? Is it in the Discipline?" Or, is it in the action of the General Conference? It is in none of them; there is no fence running through the church, but there is a glorious fence

running round the whole of it. Brother Peck says, suppose my neighbor moves the fence upon my land? Let me tell the brother, with reference to the church, he has no land of which he can claim the exclusive right. The land is all mine in common with the whole church. I claim a right to the whole land, because I am a minister of the whole church. But I can give the brother a better illustration. Suppose the church has four doors through which men may enter into the episcopacy—a north door, and east door, and a south door, and a west door: and suppose no one has come into the south door since it was opened, all the bishops have come in at one of the other doors. My brother starts up and says that door shall be shut up, no one has come in there for in so long a time, it shall be shut up. That is the nature of the argument.

But it is all based upon expediency. Now it appears to me such an act cannot be expedient. It cannot be expedient to resort to such an expedient. It cannot be expedient to go contrary to the book. It is a measure founded upon principles which do not belong to Methodism proper. And I cannot see why this expediency should exist in relation to the bishop, any more than all slaveholding preachers. I meet brethren, and they shake hands with me as though they loved a slaveholding minister. I go into the free States, and they invite me into the pulpit, and I have a right there, for methodist pulpits are open to all duly authorized methodist preachers. But why should they refuse to admit bishop Andrew any more than unworthy me? It will be seen that the principle of the resolution will cut off all preachers whenever applied. Pass that resolution, and it will not be four years before all Methodist preachers will be compelled to free their slaves to get into Northern pulpits. The same expediency will be argued. It is now insisted that as the bishop is a general superintendent, he must not be connected with slavery, which renders him unacceptable to a part of the church, but it will then be argued that the preachers are the property of the whole church, and as the bishop has the power to transfer, he may find it necessary to draw on one section to supply another; the preachers therefore ought not to be connected with any thing which will render them unacceptable in any part of the church. Now, as slavery does render the bishop unacceptable in the North, if brethren tell the truth, it cannot fail to render the preachers unacceptable in the North, and you have just as good an argument for cutting off all slaveholding ministers as you have for deposing bishop Andrew. Again, for all that I know, the General Conference will always be held in a free State, which will render it necessary for the preachers to be free from all connection with

slavery that they may fill their appointments and be acceptable among the people.

But I wish to take another view of the subject. It has been admitted that the General Conference can elect a slaveholding bishop, just when a majority shall think best. That there is no law against this, has been admitted over and over again. The point then is this, can the General Conference punish bishop Andrew for a connection with slavery, which connection would not have rendered it unlawful for them to elect him, and he sustained it at the time? I should not be willing to let that go to the world as my position.

When the bishop was elected, it was done with reference to his locality. Bishops have families, or ought to have; and it is not expected that their families will itinerate: hence, it was expected that bishop Andrew would reside in the South, — he was elected with that expectation. And it must have been known at the time, that he would be liable to become a slaveholder. He did not pledge himself not to become a slaveholder. One said, no man could make him a slaveholder without his consent. Note the point that he was not pledged, and then listen to the following fact. In Nashville, there was a black man who was a slave and a preacher. He was owned by an old man, who was pious, and who allowed him all the liberty he wanted, but he was uneasy, for the master was old, and he was afraid he would die, and that he would fall into bad hands. He tried to get free; the master was willing to give him his freedom, but the law forbade it. His case was carried to the court, but the court refused to grant him free papers. It was then carried up to the legislature, and they refused to act in the case. Thus it was not possible for him to get free without leaving the State, and that he was not willing to do. One day, the speaker said, he went to his secretary, and in it he found a paper, and inquired of his wife how it came there, and received for an answer that the old negro preacher brought it there for him: and on examination he found it to be a bill of sale of the old negro himself. It was duly executed and on record, and the man belonged to him. Thus he became a slaveholder without his consent. The old negro had tried in vain to get free, and fearing his present master would die, who was willing to free him, he meant to do the best thing he could for himself, and believing him to be a good natured fellow, he put himself into his hands. This was in September, and I did not see the old man, who was preaching among the colored people, until the next August, when he explained why he had done as he had. I never received one cent for the old man's services, though he is my property in law. All the advantage to me is, when he is sick, they

call on me to pay the doctor's bill; and when he gets in jail, as he is going about preaching, they know where to find me, to pay his jail expenses and take him out. Will any one deny that I was made a slaveholder without my consent? Or will any one say that the relation I sustain to slavery is sinful?

But it cannot be maintained that Bishop Andrew is a slaveholder in moral principle. He is anxious to get rid of them as soon as possible. The slaves that belonged to his wife never were his in a moral point of view, for before he was married, it was understood that they should not be his. The act on paper, it is true, was delayed until after they were married, to make it lawful. The understanding was that she should continue to hold the servants, and to make them lawfully hers. It was necessary that they should first be married, and then he deed them back to her, as he could not do it before marriage. Much has been said about the original intention in the election of Bishop Andrew, and of the settled policy of the church not to have a slaveholding Bishop, but I must say I never heard of such an intention or policy before this Conference. Who, I ask, is looked upon as the apostle of Methodism in this country? I suppose you would name Asbury first, and next to him you would place Bishop McKendree. I was his friend and companion; I stood over him in death, and as his spirit was about to depart, as his eye grew dim and his voice sunk to a whisper, I caught from his last aspiration that motto, "All is well." Let me say, he who is now a saint, whose robe is now whiter than the mountain snow, once made up his mind to buy a slave. Yes, Bishop McKendree once made up his mind to buy a slave, and would have done it, had he not been persuaded off of the notion by Elijah Reed and myself. What was the object he had in view in buying a slave? It was not to make him a slave, but as he was compelled to have some one to wait upon him, and as he found it extremely difficult to hire a slave, for he could hire no other that would be faithful and attentive, he resolved to buy one and educate him to suit himself. And what argument did we use to persuade him not to purchase a slave? It was not that it would be a sin to buy a boy and greatly improve his condition, but that if his brother's servant boy could not be made obedient and faithful, his own could not. The truth is then, Bishop McKendree was a slaveholder in his intention, but Bishop Andrew is a slaveholder without intention. To condemn Bishop Andrew, will be to condemn him. Will you disrobe him now and condemn his sainted spirit? Will you take off his Episcopal head?

But you ask what harm it can do in the South to pass that resolution. You may do up a portion of arsenic in a small piece of paper, but is it

any the less poison because it is done up so small and nice? I will tell you how it will operate. I go to my circuit, and meet the friends, and I go to the camp-meeting, and there I meet with the people, and they will inquire about what the General Conference did, and when they hear of the case of Bishop Andrew they will say to me, you came back a minister only because the General Conference could not lay hands on you. There was one as good and pure as you upon whom they could lay hands, and they disrobed him. The people of the world will say, "The old Bishop got used up by those abolitionists at the General Conference." What shall I say? Shall I condemn it? If I do they will reply, You belong to the same church, do you not? If I justify it, the people will condemn me. I would rather be transfixed to some sun-burnt rock, and be flayed to flinders, than to undertake to work in the South under the influence of that resolution. To submit to it would disable me to serve the South, and those who pass the resolution cannot serve the South. Do not ask me to do this, it cannot be done. I do not say you cannot pass that resolution, you can do it, for you have a majority, but I cannot submit to it. I cannot submit to it if I would; the Southern preacher who would connive at it would be forsaken, shunned and despised. Suppose the present Bishop be removed from office, a new one must take his place. From whence will the new Bishop come? No southern man can take the office, and step into the shoes of Bishop Andrew. No Southern man would take it, no Southern man could take it under the circumstances. Will you then send a Northern man to step into Bishop Andrew's shoes, when you shall have voted him out? The moment he should come South, it would be said, this is one of the men who voted against Bishop Andrew, and has taken his place. I assure you it would be difficult to sustain such a man; we could not, we would not dare to do it. I must hue to the line, let the chips fly where they will. You pass that resolution, and you cut off intercourse between the North and the South. When Northern brethren have come South, there has been suspicion and prejudice against them, and I have always defended them, and plead their cause, and things have passed along smoothly, but the moment you pass that resolution you will close my mouth, you will seal my lips, that I cannot speak without involving myself. Pass that resolution, and you will fix a gulf between the North and the South, as wide as the gulf between heaven and hell.

Such are my feelings, that I have wished since I have been here, I had died before this day. I am sorry that I was elected to General Conference. Yet our case is not entirely hopeless; it is possible that we

may outlive this storm. But I fear, and if we do come out, it will not be without damage: we shall lose some canvass, and some of our spars and masts will be carried away. May God help us. If a Bishop was an abolitionist, as has been supposed, and if the book of discipline provided for abolitionism under some circumstances, as it provides for slavery, I would say you cannot take away his office. I am a peace-maker and am willing to compromise so far as I can. It is for the sake of the unity of the church that I would do it. If Bishop Andrew is a Methodist, he must not blame me for being a Methodist, and for going as far as I can to preserve Methodism. The North is in trouble, and so far as these evils have been produced by the abolition discussion, may God forgive them; I hope, however, these brethren have had nothing to do with it. But evils exist, and our inquiry should not be so much what has produced them, as, what can be done to cure them, and preserve the church. The South can come a little — she has already come a good deal, and she can come a little more. I have said there is no rule shutting out a slaveholding Bishop, and we may pass that gap without shutting it: but if you pass this resolution, you will shut that up. Suppose you do not elect a slaveholding Bishop, I can bear all that, if you will not put it in the book. Suppose you repeal the colored testimony resolution, and I now expect you will: I can bear all that. Suppose you pass a resolution, declaring that you are sorry that Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery: I could bear that, — I can bear any thing that can be borne: cut off my hand, put out my eye, sever any of my limbs, and I can bear it, to save the body; but do not cut out my heart, for I cannot then live. Methodism has but one heart. Say you are sorry that Bishop Andrew is connected with slavery, but that you have no constitutional power to touch it, as he has violated no rule of discipline. Some of you can do this; you have told me so, that this would enable you to satisfy all that you know; but the great difficulty is way off yonder, somebody has told you. Will you then cut down this beautiful tree because you hear it reported that some of the distant branches will fall off if you do not cut the tree down. Let me entreat you to do all you can to save the church. Go as far as you can, and do not be afraid to declare and defend the truth.

Bishop Andrew is not a slaveholder in the sight of God. He comes the nearest to an anti-slavery man of any one I know in the South; he goes further than you would dare to go were you in the South. Well, he does not go quite as far as you think he ought to go; and in this, you only differ from him because you do not agree with him, and it is a matter of opinion after all. Do not pass that resolution: come a lit-

tle. I do not know that I could stem the influence of what I have proposed, when I get home, but I will try and do the best I can; but I am sure I cannot meet the resolution in the South. My veins have been so long filled with Methodism, that it is hard for me to give up and see the church broken to pieces.

Brethren, how can you do this thing, if you believe what you say? You say, he is a good man, that he is a good minister, that he has discharged his duties ably and faithfully, as a Bishop, and that you love and respect him as a brother and a Christian. How then can you sacrifice him, to soothe the excited feelings of others, whose feelings towards him you must admit are wrong, if yours are right? Will you say it will not injure him much? It will compel his children to write deposed, upon his tomb-stone; the world will look upon him as disgraced, and our enemies will seize upon it to stir up the people, and excite prejudice against us. In conclusion, brethren, as you declare your belief, that he is a pure and innocent man, let me ask if you will do as Pilate did, who said, "Take him and crucify him, *for I find no fault in him.*"

Dr. Bangs made an unimportant explanation.

Mr. Baker, of Black River Conference, moved a re-consideration of the vote suspending the rule limiting speakers to fifteen minutes. He said he did not wish to cut off discussion, and hoped the delegates from the South would have full time to give them the advantage of their strongest reasons in favor of their side of the subject under consideration, but he thought the discussion would be conducted to better advantage under the fifteen minute rule.

Dr. Capers opposed the motion. He said he was glad to hear the brother say that he did not want to cut off discussion; he thought when brethren urged expediency as the rule of action in so important a case, it does not become them to wish to cut off discussion. If greater evils are threatened in the North and East from no action, than are threatened in the South from the action proposed, and if this is the ground of action, you ought to give us this one chance for a hearing on the subject of our difficulties, that your people may hear us through the report. They have heard, I know not what, but they have never heard us. On the other hand, you ought to give us who wish to hold on by our finger nails, so long as we can find any hold at all, the full force of your strength, that we may have your arguments to carry to our people when we return, that they may understand the ground of the action.

Mr. Early from Va. also opposed the motion to reconsider.

Mr. Porter, of New England Conference, opposed the motion. He

said that they had had much discussion in which commendations had been heaped upon the South and upon Bishop Andrew beyond measure. He said if half that has been said to them is true, God has not another class of men equal to them on the face of the earth. But New-England had been traduced and caricatured, and no one had spoken in her defence save one brother yesterday, (Mr. Peck) and he apologized for it, this morning, and took it back.

Mr. Collins interrupted the speaker, to remark that brother Peck to whom he referred, was absent, and that he felt it his duty to say that he thought he misunderstood brother Peck, for he did not understand him to retract anything he said of New England.

Mr. Porter resumed: I understood him in his apology to say that he referred to New England as he did because it was the land of his fathers, and because two of the bishops were reared there, and not because New England is entitled to consideration for what she is. I am not anxious to speak on the main question, but I desire the privilege of defending New England. We wish a chance to defend ourselves.

Mr. Slicer of Baltimore said he would not say one word on the subject, if he had spoken half an hour, but he kept within the prescribed limits. If we go on in this way, we shall find ourselves without quorum before the important business of the conference is finished; some will be sick and some will be absent. You cannot keep brethren here. At the rate we are going on, we shall have to remain here until July. Most of the time, he said, had been occupied by the brethren from the South, and he hoped it would continue to be. If a brother was making a good speech, they could give him liberty to go beyond his time, but he was opposed to sitting there to have brethren give their history from childhood by the two hours and a half. He was for restoring the rule limiting brethren to fifteen minutes. Mr. Collins of Baltimore was opposed to the motion. He did not like the plan to reconsider, and then extend the time to popular speakers. The tendency of that will be to cut off what the majority does not like. He was opposed to putting that power into the hands of a majority. Mr. Randall of Maine said he thought they ought to restore the fifteen minute rule. If brethren wished to make long speeches for effect elsewhere, they had better write them out and publish them, and not detain the conference to hear them. We from New England do not need more than fifteen minutes to answer all that has been said on the other side worthy of notice.

The motion to restore the fifteen minute rule was then laid upon the table, and the conference adjourned.

Monday, May 27.

Conference opened as usual.

James Porter of New England asked the privilege of making an explanation. He said that he was mistaken in what he said on Saturday, that brother Peck apologized for his defence of New England. He saw from the reports that he apologized only for the warmth with which he made the defence, and not for the defence itself.

Mr. Winans of Miss. wished to explain concerning a former explanation. On the subject of the difference in the statements of himself and brother Davis of Baltimore, concerning the nomination of bishops in 1832, he had made an explanation on a former day, in which he said that memory was very treacherous. This, he said, father Pickering understood to apply to him, but this was not his meaning; he meant that that brother was right, and that the memory of those who had informed him was treacherous. But he regretted to say that his explanation had appeared in but one paper, the Herald, and that report of it was every thing but true. The Herald, instead of making him say that memory was treacherous, made him say that brother Davis was very treacherous, that he had always been a very treacherous man.

The order of the day was then taken up, which was the case of Bishop Andrew.

Mr. Hamline, of Ohio, took the floor. He did not propose to make a speech for the purpose of giving new light, as some others had, but mainly for the purpose of calling attention to the real issue before the Conference. The subject, he said, had taken a very wide range, and he thought the speeches had gone far beyond the real issue. He remarked also that he had not one word to say for his name, not one word for the gallery, nor had he one word for the spectators; his only object was to draw the attention of the Conference to the real question. He said the resolution suggested two questions, namely:

1. Has the Conference power to do the thing proposed to be done?
2. Is it expedient that they should do it? What have we to do with the expediency of the measure, inquired the speaker, until we have settled the legality? Can any thing be expedient which is not lawful? I think not. He would call attention to the first question. Has this Conference power to pass that resolution, is that power inherent in the body, is it inferred from its relation to the church, or is it a power expressly granted in the constitution? If the relation be regarded as mandatory, to pass it requires the power to suspend or depose. I shall now attempt to prove that the General Conference has the power both to suspend or depose. My first argument is drawn from the exact analogy

which such a power in the General Conference bears to all the features of Methodism. Every officer in the church, from the highest down to a class-leader, can be removed with or without cause.

1. Class-leaders can be removed by the preacher in charge, with or without cause. It is true no man would remove a leader without a cause in his own mind; but then the preacher is under no obligation to render any reason why he removes a class-leader.

2. Exhorters and all unordained preachers can be removed without any charge or impeachment. The quarterly conference can put them all out of office by refusing to vote for them for a renewal of their license. Nor can it be required to render any reason why the license is not renewed.

3. The preacher in charge can be removed from office at pleasure by the Bishop or by his under officer, the presiding elder. Pastor is an office from which a minister may be removed without affecting his ministerial character; and it may be done by the Bishop or presiding elder without rendering a reason for so doing. This may be done not only at the expiration of the time for which the preacher is appointed, but it may be done at any time during the interim, as the higher officer passes through his field of labor. It may be done too, without putting him in another charge, but he may be left without charge, may be placed the second preacher on a charge, who is not a pastor.

4. The presiding elder may be dismissed in the same way. You, Mr. Chairman, have the power to appoint and dismiss presiding elders, but will you do this, he is your inferior only in office. The presiding elder is as high a minister as you are, but not so high an officer; hence you can say to him, go into the ranks, take the charge of that station, or labor as the second preacher on that circuit.

5. I hold that a Bishop is accountable in the same way to the General Conference. Are we to hold all the officers so strictly accountable, and leave the bishops unaccountable? Is he to be placed beyond the reach of the power of the General Conference to touch his office or correct his official conduct, without impeaching his Christian and ministerial character? Will the improprieties which do not furnish ground for impeachment, work less evil than the improprieties of subordinate officers?

The manner of carrying out the above principles is worthy of notice. The above officers are all removed by a single agent; the class-leader is removed by a single agent, the preacher in charge; the exhorters and local preachers are removed by a single agent, the quarterly conference; a preacher in charge is removed by a single agent, the Bishop

or in his representative the presiding elder; the presiding elder is removed by a single agent, the Bishop. Has not this Conference then power to control the Bishop, who controls all inferior officers, in the church? The Bishop's power extends downward through all the grades of officers, until it reaches the class-leader; and, to render the chair complete, must not, the Bishop be responsible in the same sense to the General Conference, which is the source of all this power? What relation does the General Conference sustain to the whole body? Some suppose the same as Congress sustains to the State Legislatures. The constitution not only creates but determines all officers, and fixes their powers and term of office. It is a universal rule that all executive officers, whose term of office is not fixed by the constitution, hold their office during the will of the appointing power. There is in the constitution no time fixed for which a Bishop is elected to office; and hence he holds his office during the pleasure of the appointing power, which is the General Conference.

It should be understood that what the General Conference can do with the action of the annual conferences, is not constitution but law. All those parts of the Discipline that the General Conference may alter without the action of the General Conference, is not constitution but statute law. The General Conference has legislative, judicial and executive powers. Every member of this body is a legislator; but you, Mr. Chairman, are not a legislator, for you have no vote. The judicial power of the General Conference is supreme. If you make a judicial mistake, we have the power to correct you. Your high seat is a place of complete disability; it is like the position of one in the gallery, looking down upon the scene to approve or disapprove in his heart, without the power to take part in the same, or to control the issue.

But the question will be raised, is the judicial power of the General Conference supreme? Is it asked how this power is supreme? I answer, just as the Croton river is supreme over all these little fountains and streams that extend to every part of the city. The river is the source or fountain which pours its water into the first reservoir, ten miles out of the city; from thence by a conductor it is emptied into the second reservoir, five miles out of the city, and so on until it is conveyed to every part of the city. The General Conference represents this river; the Bishop is one reservoir, the presiding elder is another, the preacher in charge another, and the class leader another. I will not say that a Bishop is the officer of the General Conference in all respects, but in some respects, and so far and no farther can the General Conference control him, without an impeachment of his moral or minis-

terial character. He is the officer of the General Conference, because he is elected by the General Conference. It is not the annual conferences that elect the Bishop; all the preachers together cannot elect a Bishop, nor can the delegates elect a Bishop until they are organized into a General Conference; it is the Conference. There is this difference between the constitution of the United States and the Discipline of the M. E. Church. The former describes what the government may do, while the latter declares what the General Conference shall not do. The practical difference is this. The constitution of the United States, by declaring what Congress may do, leaves all the rights and powers not therein named, to the people; while the Discipline, by declaring what the General Conference shall not do, has left all the rights and powers in the hands of the General Conference, which are not therein taken away or prohibited. You see, therefore, that the powers of the General Conference are very great; it may do every thing not prohibited by the restrictive rules. The General Conference cannot do away the general superintendency, but they may refuse to elect another Bishop, until the last of the now existing Bishops shall be laid in the grave. The General Conference can also greatly abridge the powers of the Bishops. They can take away all their powers save one, namely; the power to ordain.

The appointing power of the Bishops is not a constitutional, but a legal power; it may therefore be taken away. You know my views, that I would not take away this power, or rather deprive the church of such a blessing, but still the Conference has the power to do it. The conference may resolve that it has power to do the thing proposed in the resolution before the house, and what it can resolve to do, it can do without so resolving. This applies directly to the question at issue. The rule empowering the General Conference to expel a Bishop for improper conduct, is not a part of the constitution, but a statute law, which has been enacted by the General Conference under that constitution. Now the power to expel has not its foundation in that statute law, but in the constitution, for if the constitution does not confer that power, they could have no right to pass the law giving themselves the power. It should also be remarked that the power to expel involves the power to depose or to suspend, and as this power is derived from the constitution, and not from the special legislation defining that power as belonging to the General Conference — it follows that the Conference must have the constitutional power to depose or suspend. The Conference must have the same constitutional power to pass a rule for the deposition or suspension of a Bishop, that they had for the enacting of the law for the expulsion

of a Bishop. Now comes in the doctrine laid down, that what the Conference has power to resolve to do, it has power to do without so resolving, and as the Conference has power to pass a law for the suspension or deposition of a Bishop, it must have power to suspend or depose a Bishop without first passing such a rule. Some suppose that the rule authorizing the Conference to expel a Bishop for improper conduct, does not authorize the Conference to suspend or depose him. The reply to this is, that we have the power to do it from the constitution, 'independently of that rule. The General Conference made that rule, and they have the same power to make a rule for the suspension of a Bishop that they had to make that rule for the expulsion of a Bishop. And the constitution must give the power to suspend a Bishop before they can have power to pass a law for the suspension of a Bishop. The General Conference therefore has power to suspend or depose a Bishop. The Conference can do every thing that is not forbidden, and this is not forbidden.

Nor can the Conference divest itself of its proper constitutional powers by its own legislative acts, as some suppose it has done by the passage of the law which is plead in jurisdiction of Bishop Andrew's connection with slavery. Suppose Congress should pass a resolution that it has no power to regulate commerce or to levy a tariff, they could proceed next day to do these things just as constitutionally as though they had not passed these resolutions. They could do it even without stopping to reconsider, for the constitution must be paramount to any resolutions the body might pass. The same principle will hold good in relation to the General Conference. Suppose the General Conference had gone so far as to pass a resolution affirming that they have no power to suspend or depose a Bishop, they could do it notwithstanding. It might appear inconsistent, but it would not alter the constitutionality of the act. Suppose the legislature should resolve that they have no power to pass a certain law, and then should pass that law would it render the law unconstitutional? Not in the least. If such a law was brought into court, on a plea that the resolution of the legislature rendered the law unconstitutional, the court would not hear the plea. Their inquiry would not be whether the legislature had resolved that they had or had not power to pass such a law, but whether the constitution actually gave them power to pass the law, independently of the resolution. The constitution is above all resolutions, and so is it in this case; you cannot divest yourselves of the power which the constitution gives you. Suppose a father, on leaving home, should say to his eldest son, you must not whip the children; but you may do every thing else to keep

them in order. This would not only authorize the son to do every thing not forbidden to preserve order, but it would bind him to do, and it would be treason not to do, all he could to preserve the peace and order of the family.

But there is no such resolution as I have supposed, forbidding the proposed action, but one on the other side. The rule says the General Conference shall have power to expel a Bishop for immoral conduct. One word on the language of the rule. Why is the word expel here used, and not depose or suspend? It is doubtless because the office is so high that an impropriety in the conduct of a Bishop would be attended with so great evil that it was thought best to grant the largest power to correct. But it should be understood that it does not bind us to exercise all this power. We may carry it out in full or in part. It has been argued that the power to expel does not include the power to reprove, censure, suspend or depose, but this is absurd. Suppose a son, on proposing to walk out, should ask his father how far he might go. The father replies: You may go ten miles. The son is about starting off, when some one proposes to him to go five miles. No, says the son, father said I might go ten miles; he did not say I might go three or five. I must go ten miles or not go at all. I am inclined to think you would respect such a son for his regard for his father's authority, more than you would for his intelligence.

But it has been urged that it is improper to distinguish between the matters and morals of the office. But the rule speaks of improper conduct. This expression may have no reference to the mind, but means any thing that is unfitting the office, and there may be many things that would render a man unfit for the office of Bishop, which would not involve crime.

The speaker said he would not touch the question of the expediency of the proposed action, only in a general way. The language of the Discipline, "If they see it necessary" they may expel him for improper conduct, means, if they see it expedient. If crime was intended by improper conduct, it would not be said "if they see it necessary" they may expel him, for this would imply that the General Conference might not see it necessary to expel a Bishop for crime. If they see it necessary, means if they see it expedient. I trust I have shown that the Conference can depose a Bishop. I will not say Bishop Andrew, but a Bishop. If there was even a resolution to the contrary, still the Conference could act and carry out all the power the constitution gave them. If the Conference cannot depose a Bishop, or dismiss him from office for improper conduct, alarming consequences must follow. Every man.

on this floor is his peer in office as a minister, and ye the possesses a power by the suffrages of this Conference, more fearful far than the power to depose. The Bishop, who is but an elder in ministerial order, has three thousand elders under his control for four years, during the intervals of the General Conference, to appoint to their fields of labor according to his own judgment, and to change as often as he may think best; and is it to be supposed that the General Conference has conferred such a fearful power without holding the officer to the strictest accountability? And can it be supposed that the Conference cannot discharge or remove such officer for impropriety which does not involve crime or even imprudence. I do not say that the Conference can remove a bishop from the ministry. No man can be removed from orders for improper conduct. An elder, deacon or private member, cannot be expelled for improper conduct, until they have been labored with and their continuance in the fault amounts to obstinacy, but they can be put out of office, if not useful; a presiding elder can be put out of office if not useful, without affecting his ministerial character.

If any one will contend that a Bishop may be expelled for improper conduct, which does not amount to an immorality, and yet that no degree of punishment can be inflicted below expulsion: that he cannot be deposed, or simply put out of office, they will find but little support for their opinions either in the language of the Discipline, or common method of construing law. The language of the Discipline is, they have the power to expel him for improper conduct, *if they see it necessary*. The supposition is, then, that the General Conference may not see it necessary to expel a Bishop for improper conduct. What then is to be done, if the Bishop is guilty of improper conduct, for which the General Conference do not see proper to expel him? The argument is, that they can do nothing with him: cannot reprove, cannot suspend, cannot depose, but must let his improper conduct alone, until it is great enough to justify his expulsion from the church. But the very language implies that they may see fit not to expel, but to deal with him in some more gentle manner. The greater always includes the lesser, and as they have power to expel, they have power to do less than expel: they may reprove, suspend or depose.

I will now say one word on the subject of expediency, but as I remarked, only in a general way. Before this Conference shall exercise this power, which I trust I have shown it does possess, it should consider well the alleged improper conduct, noticing all its bearings and consequences. They should inquire, first, has the Bishop acted improperly? They should inquire, what will be the consequences? Will the

consequences be local, or will they reach to every part of the church? How great, and how wide, and how lasting will be the evil? The Bishop's feelings should not be forgotten; his dignity as a minister of God his qualifications, and his endearment to all his friends, should be taken, into the account. If the bishop committed the supposed improper conduct blindly, you ought to deal tenderly with him, but not to sacrifice the interests of the church. Whether the measure now proposed is necessary to save the church, I will not say, you must judge. I only say, you have the power to act, if you judge it necessary.

Bishop McKendree said, when contending against radicalism, that a Bishop may be deposed from office for improper conduct. Let not this Conference say, they have not power to depose a Bishop: that a Bishop cannot be deposed or put out of office, without being expelled. When you shall say that, then shall I tremble for the Episcopacy, which I reverence. Let us not say, that the ground taken against radicalism is now abandoned.

Mr. Comfort, of Oneida Conference, next obtained the floor. He said he had thought the debate would change no man's opinions, but now thought the last speech might change the opinions of some. He said the Conference itself could not do away the general superintendency, and the law was express, but if a Bishop cease from travelling at large among the people, without the consent of the General Conference, he shall not exercise the Episcopal office in our church. Now, said the speaker if the Bishop has disqualified himself to travel at large, by his connection with slavery, he cannot continue to exercise the office, unless it be by the consent of the General Conference. One fact will show that he has at least embarrassed himself, which is, that he came here with the purpose of resigning; this shows that he supposed himself to be embarrassed.

Dr. Capers said it was not true that Bishop Andrew came to the Conference with the design of resigning.

Mr. Comfort replied, if that be not so then so much of my argument falls to the ground.

Dr. Capers explained. He said the Bishop did not come to the Conference with the design of presenting his resignation, but that after he got to Conference, and found what the state of feeling was, he did propose to resign. But he affirmed the Bishop had no such intention when he came.

Mr. Comfort resumed, and said that he would read his authority. He then read from the Richmond Christian Advocate, an extract of a letter from Rev. L. M. Lee, the editor of the paper, who is a member of the

Conference, in which it was stated that the Southern delegates unanimously refused their consent to the resignation of Bishop Andrew. He said those who resisted the purpose of the Bishop to resign, are responsible for the consequences, if the church should be divided.

Mr. Comfort said the General Conference had no power to divide the church; as Congress had no power to divide the United States, so the General Conference has no power to divide the Church. The membership might be divided, but they cannot divide the property. On what principle can the Book-room be divided? Shall it be divided according to the number of members in each section? One-fourth of the members in the South cannot enjoy the advantages of the Book Concern.

Mr. Simpson, of Indiana, called the speaker to order, on the ground that it was not in order to discuss the principles of a division of the church under that resolution.

The chair said the speaker was not more out of order than others had been, and he should allow him to proceed; the debate had taken a wide range.

Mr. Comfort proceeded to say that one-fourth of the members in the South could not enjoy the advantages of the book room. ["Some one sang out, 'They have got souls!'"] I know they have got souls, but how can they enjoy the advantage of the book room, so long as they cannot read, and are not allowed to be taught to read?

Mr. Simpson renewed his call of order, and appealed from the decision of the chair; and the motion being about to be put, the secretary called for the point of order in writing, and there was a pause, while Mr. Simpson went forward and wrote it out. When it was presented in writing, the chair said as the question was then stated, he must reverse the decision.

Mr. Comfort resumed his argument. He said the argument of expediency weighed heaviest on the side of the North, because the South were a unit on the subject of slavery, and of course would not, like the North, be divided among themselves. I know how it is with slaveholders, having spent five years in a slaveholding state, and I am sure the people will not resist the return of the preachers on account of the proposed action of this conference. If a man be known even to be opposed to slavery, they will bear with him, if he does not agitate the subject among them. Mr. C. said if the South should secede on the subject of slavery, their position would be an insupportable one,—the moral and religious sense of the world would be against them. His fears had been alarmed and his feelings had been beyond description, but on mature reflection he had come to the conclusion that there would be no division, that they could not divide.

Dr. Smith of Va. next took the floor, and made a long speech against the resolution. He said that while he had listened to the able argument of his learned friend from Ohio, (Mr. Hamline) he was sure he had never felt greater cause to regret that he was not eloquent, or that he could not command the words of persuasion ; but they belonged not to him. I feel that if I fail in my argument on the law, it will be an entire failure, for I have nothing else to rely upon. Talent, eloquence, and a majority, are all against me.

The substitute now before the house, I consider more objectionable than the original resolution, for it contains all the principles contained in the original, with this difference ; it contains a constitutional objection which that does not. It was not, I am sure, the object of the venerable author of the substitute to render the subject more difficult, but such was the fact in the case. The substitute he thought peculiarly unfortunate, as it has placed the whole question on the ground of expediency or propriety, and not upon any law supposed to have been violated or specifically authorizing the procedure. I propose to view the question in the light of the law of the case.

Before I enter upon my argument, I must be indulged in some preliminary remarks in reply to the learned brother from Ohio. One essential point in his argument rested upon the analogy between a bishop and all subordinate officers, who were held responsible.

I admit the responsibility of all subordinate officers as stated, but the analogy, when applied to the bishop, fails,—he is not responsible in the sense that subordinate officers are, hence, his powers, duties and responsibilities are all defined by law, and he can be held responsible only by and for the violation of that law.

Another essential point in the argument of the learned brother from Ohio, was that this Conference possessed supreme legislative power. This is denied in whole and in part in the report made by the late bishop Emory, and adopted by the Conference and published to the world. In that document the General Conference denied that it possessed any legislative power. Now as the argument of the gentleman rested wholly upon these two points, the analogy between the responsibilities of subordinate officers and a bishop, and upon the legislative power of the General Conference, and these points have been merely assumed, and do not exist in fact, the whole argument falls to the ground.

I will now come to the point which all the speakers have named on the other side, which is that the bishop has acted improperly in becoming connected with slavery, and ought to be disfranchised. I wish the

issue which I make to be understood. I do not deny that this conference has power to expel Bishop Andrew for improper conduct, if it can be proved that he has been guilty of improper conduct; but I deny that the facts alleged sustain the charge or justify in any degree the procedure in the case. What are the facts? The general fact is that Bishop Andrew is connected with slavery. The particulars present three cases.

1. He had a slave willed to him for the purpose of being sent to Liberia, at a given age, if she should be willing to go. But she refused to go, in which case the will provided that she should be made as free as the laws of the state would allow, and that has been done. It is not pretended that the bishop exercises any control over her, but it is in evidence that she is at liberty to go to a free state just when she sees fit.

2. A slave had been willed to his former wife, and as she died without a will, that slave became lawfully his, but did he claim it as his property in moral right? By no means, he had declared to that conference that the boy might go to a free state so soon as he should judge him capable of providing for himself, or so soon as security be given him that he should be provided for. There is no slavery, then, in either of these two cases.

3. Bishop Andrew has married a wife who owned slaves, and this is made the strong ground of complaint. But Bishop Andrew did not intend to become the owner of those slaves; he refused to become the owner of those slaves, and all that can be laid to his charge is that he suffered them, to pass through his hand. It cannot be said, then that Bishop Andrew is a slaveholder in any offensive sense. The relation which Bishop Andrew sustains to slavery does not contain the essential attributes of slavery. What is necessary to constitute a man a slaveholder in the moral sense of the term?

1. He must receive a slave in some way, with the design of making a slave of such person, or of holding him as a slave.

2. Such holder must neglect to free his slave, when he has an opportunity. Neither of these are true of Bishop Andrew. In what point of light will the community look at it? They will see and understand that it is for the mere relation that Bishop Andrew has been dishonored.

But let me next inquire in whose behalf this is to be done? The parties in the case are,

1. Thirteen conferences from the South and a part of the fourteenth, for a part of the Baltimore conference will feel their interests identified with the South. Such then is one party.

2. Several conferences at the North are the other party. Some of these will secede in whole or in part, if Bishop Andrew is not disfranchised, and others will refuse to allow him to preside in their bodies. These are the parties in the case, and the party of the South is definitely understood, but it is not so with the other party, it is more difficult to define it and to determine its locality and its numbers. Who are they that will secede or reject the bishop, if he is not deposed? Will the Baltimore Conference secede, if Bishop Andrew is not deposed? Certainly not. Will the Philadelphia Conference secede? Not they, though no doubt some of them would rather have a bishop not connected with slavery. Will New Jersey Conference secede? There may be a few individuals who would leave, but the body would not even indulge the thought of secession. Will New York Conference? Will they declare to the world that a mere nominal relation of one of the bishops to slavery so corrupts and pollutes the whole church that they cannot remain in it? They will never do it. Will Ohio Conference secede? I think not, as a body or any considerable portion of them, but I regret to say that there are men in that conference who would go thus far. I once read a speech from the learned brother from Ohio, who has favored us with such an eloquent argument on this occasion, which speech was never outdone by O. Scott. That speech has never been retracted. That brother may go so far as to say that a mere nominal relation of one of the bishops to slavery puts such a blot on the Methodist escutcheon as to require him to fly from all connection with the church to escape the pollution. Will Indiana Conference secede? Will Illinois Conference secede? I presume the brethren here from those conferences will not say they believe there will be a general secession if Bishop Andrew is not deposed. They may regret his connection with slavery: I regret it; but they will not leave the church. Who then will secede? There may be a few in some of the more Northern and Eastern conferences, who will secede if they cannot have their own way on the subject of slavery. They have said they would, and we are bound to believe them.

But another question presents itself here; where are they going? O! if they cannot have their own way they will join O. Scott.

Cries of no! no! no! never! were heard in different parts of the house. I am glad, said Mr. Smith, to be corrected, but still I am constrained to inquire on what ground they are going to secede, if Bishop Andrew is not deposed? The petitions no doubt explain the ground on which secession is to take place. These petitions must be supposed to embody the principles and feelings of those who will secede. Now,

let me say that these petitions contain essentially the same principles as those advocated by O. Scott and his compeers. Will any brethren undertake to explain the difference? — All is silent now! Let me repeat it then, that if you are not to join O. Scott, you are to secede upon the same principles that O. Scott did. If you do not like your company, you must not blame me, for I did not put you there.

Dr. Luckey, of the Genessee Conference, at this point started up, and inquired, What do you do with us? Do you intend to class us with the seceders?

Mr. Smith answered, Be patient, Dr., and I will do you justice in a few moments. This reminds me of what once happened with Bishop McKendree. That venerable man was once preaching a sermon in which he took occasion to bear down very severely upon tavern keepers, who extorted from travellers by charging a great price for their grain for their horses. While he was doing up this class of sinners, a man interrupted by saying, "If we do charge a high price we give them a long time for payment." "You had better held still," said the bishop, "I was only discussing a general principle, why need you apply my remarks to yourself?" I am discussing a general principle, said the speaker, and if it applies to my good friend from Genessee, he has made the application. I hope there will be no wincing on the part of the conference under my remarks, for I can be driven from my position only by arguments, not by dictation. But to resume my argument, the party opposed to the South are those who intend to secede if they cannot have their own way on the subject of slavery, or who intend to proscribe Bishop Andrew by conference action. The ground taken by this party is the same as that taken by O. Scott; it is the same doctrine that was advocated by O. Scott in the General Conference of 1836, which doctrine that body pronounced wrong, and declared that to advocate it was unscriptural and imprudent, and now, only eight years later in the history of the church, the same General Conference proposes to take these same proscribed principles and make them the rule of action, and sacrifice one of the bishops upon their altar. I am now prepared to define the parties. The South is already defined and understood. As antagonists to the South, I will place all who intend to secede, and all whose principles lead them to desire to proscribe Bishop Andrew.

But this leaves the Middle Conferences not included in either party. Where shall we class Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York Conferences? They are an umpire between the two parties. They claim to be conservative, but I cannot allow them that title, the South are the

only true conservatives. They are an umpire, and on them rests the responsibility of deciding the question. It is admitted that evil must befall the South or the North and it is for these Middle Conferences to say whether that evil should fall upon the North or the South. Some have represented these Middle Conferences as a party in the case, but I do not so view them, but look upon them as the jury that have got to decide this important cause between the parties. Let me then address myself to the delegates of these conferences, and entreat them to consider what a fearful responsibility rests upon them. If injustice is done to the North, it will be you that will do it. We of the South may be prejudiced, but we have not the power to decide for ourselves. If injustice is done to the South, you will do it, not the North. The North may do it in an incidental, but not in a criminal sense. If they err, their error is to be attributed to their position as a party and not to their intentions, but you are in a position to judge impartially.

Let us then state the issue upon which you have got to make up your judgement. The argument on the other side is that they have a right to depose Bishop Andrew, and therefore they are bound to do it because it is expedient. We deny their right to depose the bishop upon the principles on which they propose to do it. It is not a question of original right or of abstract right, but is a question which the Conference should settle by their own law; and if the law does not give us the argument and protect Bishop Andrew, we do not ask such a decision at your hands. But upon what does the expediency of the measure rest? It is not impropriety of conduct that is made the ground of action. What then is the expediency of the action made to rest upon? It is simply this: the bishop has made himself unacceptable to the party that seek to put him down. Is this a sufficient reason, without reference to the ground of the dissatisfaction, without inquiring whether the cause of dissatisfaction is their fault or the fault of the bishop? Suppose a number of the conferences had become wrong in doctrine; suppose they had become Millerites, in consequence of which they would not receive any of the bishops, would that justify the act of putting down all the bishops? Would any other error embraced by conferences, which might render a bishop unpopular with them, justify the conference in putting down such bishop? Whose fault is it that the bishop is not acceptable to these Northern conferences? If it is the bishop's fault, we say let him go; we will not contend a moment, if it can be proved that the bishop has violated the rules of the Church. But if it be the fault of the party that Bishop Andrew is not acceptable, he must not be sacrificed, whatever happen to the party in error.

But how shall we settle this question, and come to a just decision who is in fault? This question is to be answered by asking, another: who is upon the platform of the Discipline, and who is off of it? This question answered, and we shall see who ought to suffer, if suffering there must be. Is the bishop or the party opposed to him on the ground of the Discipline? An answer to this question is what I will now attempt to give.

We here make an appeal to the Discipline itself, and we maintain that section ten, is in its own nature a compromise measure. This being a compromise act, it settles what is and what is not expedient, and what is the doctrine and what is the usage of the Church on the subject of slavery, and we have no fear that any one of the other party will attempt to prove that Bishop Andrew's position is not in strict conformity to that general law of the Church. The history of that act has an important bearing on the subject. The first we find of this Church legislation on the subject of slavery, is in the Minutes of 1780, where we have the following question and answer.

Quest. 16. Ought not this Conference to require those travelling preachers who hold slaves to give promise to set them free?

Ans. Yes."

- This was the first ground taken by the Church, and it was a requisition upon the preachers, requiring them unconditionally to emancipate their slaves. It was not subordinate to the law of the land. The Minutes of 1784 contain the following on the subject of slavery.

Quest. 12. What shall be done with our friends that will buy and sell slaves?

Ans. If they buy with no other design but to hold them as slaves, and have been previously warned, they shall be expelled, and shall be permitted to sell on no consideration.

Quest. 13. What shall we do with our local preachers who will not emancipate their slaves in those States where the law will admit it?

Ans. Try those in Virginia another year, and suspend the preachers in Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.

Quest. 22. What shall be done with our travelling preachers who now are, or hereafter shall be possessed of slaves, and will not manumit them where the law permits?

Ans. Employ them no more."—These regulations remained until what has been called the Christmas Conference, in 1784, when the whole subject was again brought under review, new measures devised and adopted. The measures adopted at this Conference required the unconditional manumission of slaves as a condition of membership,

which was regarded by the law-makers as a new term of membership.

Dr. Smith here read a few lines of the act in question, and then remarked that he would omit reading it as it was long, and only state the contents or substitute, but as it is important and will doubtless be new to most of the readers of the Wesleyan, the reporter takes the trouble to transcribe the entire act.

“*Quest. 42.* What methods can we take to extirpate slavery?”

“*Ans.* We are deeply convinced of the impropriety of making new terms of communion for a religious society already established, excepting on the most pressing occasion; and such we consider the practice of holding our fellow creatures in slavery. We view it as contrary to the golden law of God, on which hang all the law and the prophets, [The discovery by a Bishop, that slaves may be held in accordance with the golden rule, was reserved to be classed among the logical and moral wonders of this improving age.—REPORTER.] and the unalienable rights of mankind, as well as every principle of the revolution, to hold in the deepest debasement, in a more abject slavery than is perhaps to be found in any part of the world except America, so many souls that are capable of the image of God.

“We therefore think it our most bounden duty to take immediately some effectual method to extirpate this abomination from among us; and for that purpose we add the following to the rules of our society, viz:

“1. Every member of our society who has slaves in his possession, shall, within twelve months after notice given him by the assistant, [preacher in charge,] (which notice the assistants are required to give, and without delay in their respective circuits,) legally execute and record an instrument whereby he emancipates and sets free every slave in his possession who is between the ages of forty and forty-five immediately, or at farthest when they are forty-five.

“And every slave which is between the ages of twenty or twenty-five immediately, or at farthest at the expiration of five years from the date of such instrument.

“And every slave under the age of twenty, as soon as they arrive at the age of twenty-five at farthest.

“And every infant born in slavery, after the above mentioned rules are complied with, immediately on its birth.

“2 Every assistant shall keep a journal, in which he shall regularly minute down the names and ages of all the slaves belonging to all the masters in his respective circuit, and also the date of every instrument

executed and recorded for the manumission of the slaves, with the name of the court book and folio in which the said instruments shall have been recorded; which journal shall be handed down in each circuit to the succeeding assistant.

"3. In consideration that these rules form a new term of communion, every person concerned who will not comply with them, shall have liberty quietly to withdraw from our society within twelve months succeeding the notice given as aforesaid: otherwise the assistant shall exclude him from the society.

"4. No person so voluntarily withdrawn, or so excluded, shall partake of the supper of the Lord with the Methodists, till he complies with the above requisition.

"5 No person holding slaves shall, in future, be admitted into society or to the Lord's supper, until he previously complies with these rules concerning slavery.

"N. B. These rules are to affect the members of our society no farther than as they are consistent with the laws of the States in which they reside.

"And respecting our brethren in Virginia that are concerned, and after due consideration of their peculiar circumstances, we allow them two years from the notice given to consider the expediency of compliance or non-compliance with these rules.

"*Quest.* 43. What shall be done with those who buy or sell slaves or give them away?

"*Ans.* They shall be immediately expelled, unless they buy them on purpose to free them."

Upon this act Dr. Smith reasoned as follows:

From this it will be seen that the churches at that time required unconditional emancipation as a term of communion, and that twelve months only were allowed to consider upon it before the members must comply or leave the church. Virginia only was an exception to the rule, and she had two years grace instead of one, for old Virginia was always precious in the eyes of the brethren. This emancipation was required, whether the emancipated slave could enjoy freedom or not. But this law was never carried out; it was found to be so impracticable, and its execution so threatened the existence of the church, that it was suspended in 1785, about six months after it was enacted, as the following note appears in the Minutes of that year.

"It is recommended to all our brethren to suspend the execution of the minute on slavery till the deliberation of a future Conference, and that an equal space of time be allowed all our members for consideration, when the minute shall be put in force."

From the suspension as above given, nothing appears to have been done on the subject until 1796. In the Minutes of this year we have the following:—

“The preachers and other members of our society, are requested to consider the subject of negro slavery with deep attention till the ensuing General Conference; and that they impart to the General Conference, through the medium of the yearly conferences, or otherwise, any important thoughts upon the subject, that the Conference may have full light, in order to take further steps toward the eradicating this enormous evil from that part of the Church of God to which they are united.”

I now ask particular attention to the bearing which this history has upon the question. First, they made a rule which made emancipation an absolute condition of membership; this they found worked badly, and suspended it at the expiration of six months. They then sent the question down to the annual conferences, and to the membership for advice, and asking for light on the subject, and then next year, in 1800 they adopted the present rule as the result of this general inquiry into the subject, which rule has not been changed from that day to this. It is found in the Discipline.—Sec. x. Ans. 2.

“When any travelling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves, by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our church unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the State in which he lives.”

From the very nature of this rule, and from all the circumstances attending it, it must be regarded as a compromise. It had been preceded by one that worked badly and had been suspended; it was the result of general inquiry on the subject, and by a comparison of all the conflicting views which were brought up to Conference from the different sections of the work, it was made what it is. At the same time it will be seen that it entirely changed the ground of the church on the subject of slavery, making it right for ministers to hold slaves, where the laws do not admit of emancipation. In what point of light can it be regarded but as a compromise? The rule does not meet the views of either party as a whole. The South opposed all legislation on the subject, believing that any thing on the subject would be a damage to their operations in the south; but the North insisted on legislating against slavery. The South admitted that the rule was right in principle, but insisted that to put it in the Discipline would embarrass them, and the rule was made what it is by way of compromise. The present rule on the subject, touching the case of private members was adopted in 1816, which is the first answer to the question in the Discipline. And if I am not right

in the statement I am about to make, there is a brother on the floor [Dr. Bangs] who was present and who can correct me. I appeal to him for the truth of the remark, when I say that the position of the South was that there ought to be nothing in the Discipline on the subject of slavery, and that all legislation on the subject by the Church would do no good, but great damage to the Church and to the slaves. But still as the North insisted on action upon the subject, the South yielded a part, and the North yielded a part, for the sake of the Union, and the compromise act which is now in the Discipline was the result.

I have not made these remarks because the law is wrong in principle, the South never opposed it upon principle, they admitted that the law was right in principle, but opposed it because it was impracticable, and because it would injure us in the South. Nor do I make these remarks because I wish the law repealed, but to show how much the South has yielded for the sake of compromise. And for every inch we have yielded, we have suffered in the South. Bishop Asbury once said that all the rules they had ever adopted on the subject of slavery, had not only done no good in the South to the church or the slave, but much harm to both. The South always said, give us no law on the subject, but the North thought otherwise, and the difference was compromised as I have shown. The North insisted that the General Conference should say that slavery is an evil because it is true that it is an evil, but while we admitted that it is an evil, we insisted that it was not best to say it and put it in the Discipline. We yielded for the sake of union.

But the North had seceded from the common ground, and say that slavery is not only an evil, but that it is a sin under all circumstances. This is going beyond the law; the Discipline does not say that. The Discipline declares what is proper and what is not proper for ministers. This is settled beyond a doubt by a second answer. The law provides that a preacher shall forfeit his ministerial character on becoming a slaveholder, unless he execute a deed of emancipation, if it be practicable. This proves that no preacher can be allowed to be a slaveholder where emancipation is practicable; but it proves as clearly at the same time, that a preacher has a right by the law to hold slaves where emancipation is not practicable. Here then we come at the terms of the compromise; the South bound themselves not to hold slaves, as ministers, where emancipation is practicable, and the North agreed that they might hold slaves where emancipation is not practicable.

Should the South now send up their petitions to the General Conference, praying this body to blot the rules concerning slavery from the book, they would depart from the principles of the compromise. The

North, by sending their petitions here, praying to have the rules made more strict, or additional rules enacted, would no less violate the principles of the compromise. All such petitions ought to be laid upon the table, or returned to the petitioners, so long as the compromise act is suffered to remain upon the page of the Discipline. The only right and honorable way of getting at this subject is, first, break up the compromise by repealing the law.

My next business shall be to examine the principles upon which this effort against Bishop Andrew is made to rest.

1. It is urged on the ground of expediency. The bishop has rendered himself unacceptable; he has done it in a disciplinary way, and those who are dissatisfied with him, are dissatisfied on account of what the Discipline tolerates. If then the bishop is unacceptable and is still upon the ground of the Discipline, the evil must fall upon those who are dissatisfied with him, as they and not he, are off of the common ground of the Discipline. They are dissatisfied because they have got down from the compromise ground. If men can be bound by their own legislation, this Conference is bound to the principles of the compromise, by bonds as strong as withes of Sampson and hooks of steel. Whatever form or name you give this procedure against Bishop Andrew, it is and must be extrajudicial, and would be so pronounced in any court of justice, was it to be carried there for a final decision.

2. The ground has been taken that Bishop Andrew has violated the policy of the church, by becoming connected with slavery. Some say settled policy of the church. If by the policy of the church he meant the views and feelings of a majority of the voters, there may be some truth in it. But in this view of the subject, he will not be convicted of the greatest crime that was ever committed. I will present those speakers who have dwelt upon this point with a dilemma. Those who voted for Bishop Andrew as a Southern man, did it upon the principles of the compromise act, or they did not; if they did vote for him upon the compromise principles, he was elected upon the ground of the compromise act. In this view it is a sufficient reply to the charge of having violated the policy of the church, to say that he is still upon the principles of the compromise act, he stands this moment upon the ground upon which he was elected. If they did not vote for Bishop Andrew upon the principles of the compromise, they deceived the whole South. And by publishing the compromise act to the world as containing the principles by which they would be governed on the subject of slavery, they deceived the world by not acting upon those principles.

3. Another consideration that has been urged to convict the bishop is,

that he has violated the common law of the church. This point has been so fully met by others, that it is necessary for me to say but little. It will not be denied that common law is always subordinate to statute law, and can be plead only in the absence of statute law. But in the case before us, we have statute law, clear and pointed, and it is admitted that it would be lawful for this Conference to elect a slaveholding bishop, if a majority chose to have one; the existence of a slaveholding bishop must therefore be conformable to the statute law of the church, and what the statute law justifies, the common law cannot condemn, unless common law is made to nullify statute law.

4. It has been urged that Bishop Andrew was nominated to the Episcopacy by a Southern brother as a non-slaveholder, and that therefore his subsequent connection with slavery is a breach of an implied pledge.

To meet this point, I must allude to the allusions which have been made to him and his wife, as delicate as these matters are. They have been alluded to, and the bishop's present wife has been brought before this Conference. I do not know that I ought to wonder at this, for I have had an opportunity of reading some of the conference journals since I have been here. I found the record of the trial of a member of an annual conference for having made an engagement to marry a second wife while his first wife was yet living; and he was suspended from the exercise of the ministerial office for one year. Men who deal thus must be expected to make plain allusions. The bishop has violated his implied pledge, by marrying one of the most worthy women in the country, because he was nominated to his office by a Southern man. That man was Dr. Capers, and the transaction has been explained, and I understand it as I never understood it before. I never before understood Dr. Capers' delicacies in relation to the subject, and thought him false to the interests of the South, but I am now satisfied that he was not, and I am not prepared to say I should not have done as he did, had I been placed in the same circumstances.

But to the point. Where are we to look for the implied pledge? Bishop Andrew never gave any pledge not to become connected with slavery. No such pledge was asked of him; and if it had been, he would not have given it. No other man made such a pledge for him: nor does his present position violate any obligation implied in his election. He was elected with the expectation that he would remain in the South; and it must have been known, that living in the South, he was liable to become connected with slavery, without even any design on his part. We who misunderstood the motives of Dr. Capers, opposed the election of Bishop Andrew; and what argument did we use? It

was this: that nothing would be gained by electing him instead of a slaveholder; because, as he was expected to reside in the South, he was liable at any time to become a slaveholder. To this it was replied, that if he became a slaveholder in the order of providence, they could bear it better than to make a slaveholding Bishop by their own act; and you of the South ought not to oppose it, if you are likely to get a slaveholding Bishop by the means. In the light of these facts, I ask, where is the implied pledge, which some pretend he has violated? I have now examined every ground that has been urged against the Bishop, and I ask if you will now, in the light of all these facts, depose and afflict and degrade as pure a heart as beats in a human breast? O shame, where is thy blush! How will you meet the American public with the extrajudicial proceeding? Will you, can you demand of that man, to give up his ordination vows, in which he pledged at the altar of truth and holiness, as with the oath of God, to discharge the duties and perform the work of a Christian Bishop? Will you demand all this without even charging him with improper conduct? The moment you do this, you demolish the platform of the compromise, and strike down the union of the church.

But you say, you do not intend or desire any such results, and I believe you. There may be exceptions, but I believe all you say of your good feelings and wishes towards the South; but what good does all this do us, so long as you insist on doing what will ruin us in the South? Will the disaster be any the less because you do not intend or wish it? Suppose a man to approach a magazine of powder with a blazing firebrand in his hand; he says I wish no harm to any one, I do not even desire that your nerves should receive a shock from the report; but still insists upon applying the firebrand to the magazine: will his good intentions and kind feelings prevent the ruin, or heal the torn limbs, and gather up the fragments, when the magazine has exploded and sent in the direction of the four winds? I appreciate the remark, sir, that you (Bishop Soule) made, that you could be immolated only upon the compromise act.

Mr. Collins said the Bishop did not say, compromise act, but the interests of the church.

Bishop Soule said neither had got his language exactly. He said he could not be immolated but upon the union of the whole church. You may call it compromise or what you please.

Mr. Smith resumed. The compromise act is the basis upon which the union of the church rests, and upon which alone it can stand.

I will offer a remark on what has been said upon the restrictive rule,

which forbids the Conference to do away the general superintendency. I cannot see how that rule will be endangered, or how there will be any tendency to do away the general superintendency, if the Bishop is not driven from his point and field of labor by the proposed action of this Conference. But I can see how it may be done away by the passage of the resolution now before the Conference. You are about to ask the Bishop to desist from the exercise of his Episcopal functions, not because he is disqualified, or because he has committed crime, but because he is not acceptable to some parts of the church, and because, you say, some of the conferences will not allow him to preside in their bodies. Do this, and the South will refuse to receive one from the North. Where then will be your general superintendency? How much better it would be to pursue the course proposed by a brother on Saturday last. Let this Conference say that they regret Bishop Andrew's connection with slavery, and request him to free himself from such connection as soon as possible. And having said thus much, leave it to the prudence of the Episcopacy to make such a division of the work as will not bring the conflicting elements in contact. If the parties cannot meet on this ground, what is the position? It is this: while the Episcopacy is in the slightest degree connected with slavery, however innocently on the part of the Bishop, for it is admitted that Bishop Andrew is innocent, the church is in such an unhallowed connection with slavery, as to render the touch polluting. From this very position it must follow that the church cannot be pure until she is free from all slavery. What then must be the result of such a position in the South? It will at once present the whole denomination as an abolition church, and cannot fail to embarrass all in the South who might be disposed to remain connected with it.

1. It would degrade the ministry in the South, and not only render them suspicious, but contemptible in the estimation of the community,
2. In the more southern States, it would close the door against our missionaries.

But as I understand Dr. Capers designs to speak upon this point, I will leave it to him. Sooner than submit to a measure that would so hedge up our way, it would be the duty of this Conference to divide. Not the duty of the South to secede or divide, but the duty of this Conference to divide. It would be prudent for this Conference to settle the principles of an amicable division. I do not mean to say that this Conference can constitutionally divide the church, but steps can be taken which may result in a peaceful division. The mass of Southern men will hold on to the union: they are anxious for its continuance; but only

upon the principles of the compromise act; but if you pass this resolution, you virtually blot that act from the book. May it not be a stroke of policy to induce them to submit for the sake of their interests in the church property? Let me say that the South does not intend to give up her right in the property; when the hour comes, I warrant you old Virginia will put in for every dollar that belongs to her. And when the time comes to test it, an injunction will be served on the Book-room, so that a book cannot be sold until the court shall have decided upon the case. But will a majority withhold our part of the funds, when a division becomes necessary? I cannot believe that. We can show that the South has put more money into the Book room and the missionary treasury than the North, and I have no fears that the majority will withhold our rights. There will be no resort to law on the subject, it will not be necessary; I feel confident that the North will have too high a sense of honor to attempt to withhold our portion of the funds.

Much has been said about a division of the political Union, as a result of a division of the church; but I look for no such fearful consequences as have been described. We live in an age of too much light in a civil point of view, to go to war about negroes. If it should ever come to a political division of the country, it will be settled by other means than implements of war. What we have most to fear is, the lawless spirit of mobs, and not a civil war between States. All these frightful pictures of the consequences of a division of the union, are the productions of political alarmists.

Notwithstanding my ardent love for the union of the church, I am constrained to say that the measures pursued, to say nothing of the case of Bishop Andrew, must result in a division of the church. The abolition excitement has been manufactured in the church, and the General Conference is lending its influence to give increased influence to the operation. How long shall the church be polluted by this disturbing spirit? How long will the Southern portion of the church submit to this perpetual agitation? Let us adhere to the principles of the compromise, and all will be well; but break up that compromise, and division will follow.

I did design to pursue a course of remarks of a different character, and address myself to those whom I suppose are governed by a mistaken love for the colored race: but I have already talked longer than was my purpose, and will yield the floor.

Mr Hamline made a brief explanation in relation to some allusions made to him by the last speaker. He said his argument did not involve Bishop Andrew as a man, or a minister, but as a Bishop. He said the

abolition speech which he had been accused of making was a colonization address, delivered before the abolition excitement commenced, and was published by the Colonization Society with high commendation: and that the principle remarks that it contained against slavery were extracts from Thomas Jefferson.

Mr. Collins of the Baltimore Conference, next obtained the floor, but gave way for a motion to adjourn.

Tuesday, May 28.

The Committee on Itinerancy presented a report No. 4. This report related to instructions that had been given them to inquire if the sacrament of the Lord's supper was administered in the congregations as regularly and as frequently as it should be. The result of their inquiry was that in the cities and large towns there is no deficiency, but in the large country circuits, and the new sections of the work, there are some deficiencies in the administration of the sacrament. The committee recommended that the Lord's supper be administered in every congregation, where it is practicable, once in the month. The Committee on Episcopacy reported in part. This report recommends such an amendment in the rule providing for a committee to estimate the table expenses of the bishops, as to require the committee to report to the annual conference for their approval or amendment. The report also recommended that an additional amount be allowed to Bishops Soule and Morris, of 300 dollars to the former, and 250 dollars to the latter, over the estimate for the last two years.

Mr. Sanford then made a statement concerning the publication of the journal of 1840, which had been ordered, which called forth some discussion of no general interest. The order of the day was then taken up, viz., the case of Bishop Andrew.

Mr. Winner of New Jersey moved that the vote on the case be taken at 12 o'clock this day. Mr. Winner supported his motion. He said all had got their minds made up and were tired of the discussion, and enough had been said to bring the subject clearly before the Conference and develop its merits.

Some one at this point rose on a question of order, if it were in order for a member to make a motion when another member was entitled to the floor, as was Mr. Collins, he having been on the floor when the conference adjourned. The chair said all that had been said and done since they had done presiding and receiving reports, had been

out of order, but he thought he would not arrest the course if no one object to it.

Mr. Collins then being pronounced as entitled to the floor, commenced his speech. He said he had full confidence in the statements of the brethren from the South, concerning their difficulties and the evil that would befall them if that resolution pass. He also said that he believed what the North said in relation to their difficulties. The truth is, said Mr. C., we have arrived at a fearful crisis in the history of the Church: there were rocks on either hand, and they were in difficulty from which he feared they could not escape. I cannot see how we are to get through in safety, yet I still hope that some spirit will yet come to the rescue and take the helm and conduct us through some middle channel. I hope some middle ground may yet be found, upon which the difficulty can be adjusted.

Whatever I may say, I wish to be understood that I intend no disrespect to the venerable man who, from the nature of the case, must be more or less the subject of my remarks in the debate. Nor will I consume time with minor matters, but at once commence my argument by attacking the argument on the other side on the subject of the usage of the church. I think the illustration drawn from the election of presidents very unfortunate. I admit that the election of most of the presidents from slaveholding States does not prove a usage in the case, but the argument in support of the usage of the church not to elect a slaveholding bishop, rests upon stronger ground. Within the last 60 years the church has elected nine bishops not one of whom has been a slaveholder. During the same time the nation has elected nine presidents, five of whom have been chosen from slave states, and four from free states. This presents the practice of the church as a settled usage, if not in the light of common law.

Judge Longstreet, [Rev. Mr. Longstreet, member from Georgia,] said the speaker remarked that the M. E. Church had taken longer steps towards the Papal power than any other denomination.

Mr. Longstreet explained; he did not mean that the church had already gone such fearful length in the way to Rome, but that she had begun in this legislation about civil matters, and that the passage of the present resolution would be another step of fearful length added to her course, which he thought a dangerous one. She commenced as Rome did.

Mr. Collins resumed by saying, I assure you and all the world that there is no danger from that quarter. The whole tendency is directly the other way, the whole tendency is to diminish the power of the Epis-

ecopacy. The bishops once had more power than they now have, and the preachers once had the power to expel members from the church, but that has been given up. There is no tendency in the church to irresponsible power, and I will undertake to prove, in opposition to any man who will dispute it, that the polity of the M. E. Church is more in accordance with the institutions of the country than any other church polity in the land.

[If Mr. Collins wishes to try his strength on such a question, I will lend my humble services as his opponent, and will undertake to prove that the government, of the M. E. Church is arbitrary and opposed to the genius and spirit of the institutions of our country, slavery excepted.—LUTHER LEE.]

Judge Longstreet objected to the resolution, because, as he affirmed, its passage would be the infliction of punishment without a trial, or the presentation of any form of charges, as provided for in the Discipline. It should be borne in mind that the discipline providing for the appointment of a committee, and prescribing a form of trial for an accused bishop, is applicable when the bishop is put on trial for his moral character, which is not the case here. If he were tried according to the argument of the brother, his moral character would be involved, but we are not trying the bishop's moral character. We do not propose to touch his moral or ministerial character, but only deal with him as an officer of the General Conference.

Mr. Longstreet argued that the measure would be an infraction of the general superintendency, but directly the reverse of this will be the result. A bishop is bound by the law of the church to travel through the church at large, and hence when a bishop renders himself unacceptable, so that he cannot do it, the law is infringed. To restrict the work and confine a bishop to a district, would be an infraction of the rule. A Methodist bishop is not a bishop of one State, he is not confined to one State and cannot be bound by the local laws of the States, and may therefore locate himself where the laws are suited to the circumstances of a bishop of the M. E. Church.

Much has been said on the subject of the compromise, but I deny the existence of any such compromise, and will dispute it below zero. There is no compromise in the constitution of the Church. The constitution consists of the restrictive rules, and the general rules. No compromise is found in them, and as it is not in the constitution, if it is found elsewhere, it must be an infraction of the constitution. There can be no such thing as a compromise in the Church. A compromise supposes two parties, but the Church is not two, but one. There was a

compromise in forming the constitution of the United States, and it is found in the constitution. There were two parties in that compromise, they were the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, and the compromise consists in the principles of representation agreed upon, by which the South are represented for three-fifths of their slaves. But there is no such thing in the Church. When the rules against slavery were first enacted, the South had the majority; the North was then small, and then the Conference went further against slavery than now. In 1800, the Conference drew up and sent out addresses on the subject of slavery. The Church was opposed to slavery from the beginning, but when she commenced, there was no law in the States forbidding emancipation, and the Church pressed her doctrine of voluntary emancipation until the States took up the subject, and enacted laws to prevent emancipation. This change in the laws of the States, led to a change in the rules of the Church, not a change in the principles of the Church. So far as changes have been made, it has been to favor slavery, and it has been done as an act of kindness, and not as an invasion of Southern rights. The Methodist Church has always maintained that slavery is a great evil, and tolerates it only because she has no control over it.

The brother from Va., [Dr. Smith,] denied that the General Conference possesses any legislative authority. If this be true, I wish to know how his compromise law got into the book? If it was not put there by legislative authority, we have a right to strike it out just when we please. If it be contended that the law which is plead in justification of Bishop Andrew's connection with slavery, secures him a right to his ministerial character in view of that relation, I grant it with all my heart. I never did, and I never will give a vote that will deny the ministerial character to slaveholders, where the law will not admit of emancipation. I deprecate the character of some of the petitions that have been presented to this Conference, reflecting upon the character of Southern brethren. I should consider it one of the greatest calamities to grant those petitioners the thing for which they ask.

The Harding case is not the same as the bishop's case, as some have asserted. He could have emancipated his slaves, and it was upon this principle that I voted against him; but in so doing, I had no thought of disfranchising slaveholding ministers, where they cannot emancipate. I am willing to-day to vote them all their rights, and their ministerial characters, and I could do it with all my heart. I could not pass over this and not notice the Baltimore case. I should be unworthy of my birth should I do it. The Baltimore Conference has been assailed by the

Southern press, and held up to the public contempt as guilty of trickery and heartless treachery to the South. But what have we done? We only keep slavery out of the travelling ministry. The progress of slavery has been first to get into the membership, then among the official men, then into the travelling ministry, and then into the episcopacy. We have refused to let it into the travelling ministry, and this is our crime. Abolitionists can be forgiven, and be called honest men, but we can never be forgiven.

But have we any law justifying the procedure against Bishop Andrew? He is liable to a charge under the law which makes a bishop amenable to the General Conference for improper conduct.

1. Bishop Andrew knew, when he was elected, that no slaveholder could have been elected at that time. And knowing this, he went and connected himself with slavery, the very thing which he knew would have prevented his election, if he had been connected with it at the time. Is there nothing wrong in this? Dr. Capers declined the nomination because he was a slaveholder.

Dr. Capers said he was very sorry to be so often referred to in connection with a subject necessarily so delicate to him. He hoped he should not be dragged before the public any more in connection with this subject.

Mr. Collins resumed, and said,

2. Bishop Andrew connected himself with slavery, knowing that the great majority of the preachers and people were opposed to having slavery connected with the suprintendency. The Bible says that "a bishop must be blameless," and I doubt whether a bishop can be blameless when he does what he knows will give offence to the greater portion of his brethren. Mr. President, you must allow me to avail myself of your authority on the meaning of the term "improper conduct" for which a bishop may be expelled. "The General Conference may expel a bishop, not only for immoral but improper conduct, if they see it necessary. Improper conduct in our Discipline means a small offence, below a crime." — *Hedding's Address*, p. 12.

Is there nothing then improper in the bishop's connection with slavery? There was never a day when a slaveholder could have been elected to the Episcopacy, and this Bishop Andrew must have known, and hence to charge this proceeding upon recent excitement, and spread it before the public in this aspect, will be to go to the public with a false issue. A distinguished brother at the South, if the newspapers did not report him incorrectly, had stated that he would give his suffrage to a Northern man for a bishop, on condition that he should come to the

South to reside. This all goes to show that it was known and felt at the South, that a slaveholder would not be acceptable as a bishop to a majority of the Church, and with this knowledge before him, Bishop Andrew became connected with slavery.

3. By this act of the bishop, the M. E. Church has had her councils distracted, her harmony disturbed, her union threatened, and her foundations shaken to their very centre. Nor is it true that this commotion has been raised by the case of Mr. Harding; that was local in its effects, but this is general, and affects the whole Church, and has already shaken her very foundations. Is not that which results in such disaster to the church, improper conduct in a bishop?

4. If the bishop remain in his office, it will be necessary to change one essential feature of the superintendency. The Church will have to be divided into episcopal districts, and Bishop Andrew must have a district assigned him suited to his circumstances, and the general character of superintendency will be broken up. This the constitution forbids, and the Conference has no power to do it. If, then, the General Conference cannot do away the general character of the superintendency, an official cannot have the right of doing what will render it necessary for the Conference to do it away. Bishop Andrew has rendered himself unavailable to a large portion of the Church; and however capable he may be of superintending some part of the Church, he cannot superintend the whole Church, or all parts of the Church, and therefore cannot be a general superintendent, and the General Conference cannot keep him without a violation of the Constitution. It is due to Bishop Andrew to say, as has been said, that he came here with the purpose of resigning and relieving the Conference of the embarrassment.

Bishop Andrew rose and explained, by saying that he did not come to the Conference with the expectation of resigning. I had no expectation of meeting the state of things which exists here, when I started for the Conference. When he got as far as Baltimore, he heard that he was to be deposed or suspended, unless he resigned; and when he got to New York, he learned that the decree had gone forth that he must be deposed unless he resigned. Dr. Bond, in an editorial in his last paper, had made him the scapegoat upon whom now depended the destruction or salvation of the Church. He said, God knew it was not so. If he could restore peace to the Church, he would do it. If his resignation would restore peace to the Church, he would resign; but it would not. He said he never had any particular fondness for the episcopal office, and he was sure he could not now, as it had been held up to that Conference, and he pitied the man who could remain in it, or accept of

it at their hands. If his resignation was necessary to secure the peace of the Church, he would make it at once, and return home and labor as he had done among the slaves, and strive to save those upon whom their pretended friends were inflicting suffering and ruin.

Mr. Collins continued. I believe every word of what Bishop Andrew has said ; I believe him to be a pure man. There is not a man on the Episcopal bench that I love so ardently as I do Bishop Andrew ; I repeat it, I love him more than I love any other bishop. I believe that all our Southern brethren are true, and I believe what they say of the evil that will result to them from the passage of the resolution.

But I wish to speak concerning the authority of the Conference to act in the case, and to do what the resolution proposes. If I am wrong on this subject, I have been misled by high authority, for I have derived my opinions from the best authority. If there is no law directly on the subject, there must be a power in the General Conference to meet the case, and there can be no officer of the body above the General Conference. A bishop is amenable to the body, and as he possesses no power above an elder, which he does not receive from this Conference as its officer, the Conference must have power to control the subject, and may not only expel, but may curtail his power or transfer it to other hands. Here the speaker introduced Mr. Wesley and Mr. Dickson, an English Methodist minister, as authority. The reporter is unable to give the language of the extracts which he read, but they were such as satisfied the speaker that a bishop is an officer of the General Conference, and may be dismissed from office at the pleasure of the Conference, without any impeachment of his moral or ministerial character. The speaker continued : The above extracts settle the question that a bishop is an officer of the General Conference, and that he may be removed every year and a new one put in his place. I would never speak lightly of the office or the officers, but such are my views of the constitutional question. It is equally clear to my mind that no law which this Conference has enacted can be plead as a barrier in the way of such action, for the conference itself is the power and source and fountain of law.

In the constitution of the United States all the power that is not granted to Congress, is reserved to the people and the states, but in the constitution of the church all the power that is not reserved to the people and annual conferences, is granted to the General Conference ; the conference therefore can do every thing which they think the interest of the church demands, so long as they do not violate the restrictive rules. If it is then clear that the conference has power to act, let us see if it is not their duty to act. When a bishop cannot go every where and

work to advantage in all parts of the church, can he be a bishop in the sense of the Discipline, page 29?

"If a bishop cease from travelling at large among the people, shall he still exercise his episcopal office among us in any degree?

Answer. If he cease from travelling, without the consent of the General Conference, he shall not thereafter exercise the episcopal office in our church." Has not Bishop Andrew placed himself in circumstances which will compel him to cease from travelling at large among the people? There is a plain difference between the circumstances and labor of a bishop and those of a preacher, which should not be overlooked. There appears to be a reason for the rule on slavery relative to travelling preachers, which does not exist in the case of bishops. A travelling preacher is more local in his sphere, he is the member of an annual conference of prescribed limits, within the bounds of which he must labor, unless transferred to another section of the work by the episcopacy. This view shows that preachers are subject to the civil law of the several states which regulates slavery, and hence the rule, to meet their case; but the same necessity does not exist in the case of the episcopacy, for a bishop is not a member of any annual conference, but is at liberty to select his own residence, and hence need not be controlled by the slave laws, which are local in their operations. I conclude, then, that the rule in the tenth section does not relate to bishops, but only to travelling preachers.

I have spoken longer than I intended, and am now more embarrassed than when I began, in relation to the proposed action in the case. I am greatly embarrassed by the remarks of Dr. Smith, who calls upon us of the middle conferences to act as an umpire in the case, and administer equal justice to the parties. My difficulty is in knowing where to draw the line, or to determine what is the real issue between the parties. If the line is drawn and the issue is made up upon the petitions, I must go with the South. I can never vote to grant the things asked for in those petitions. I believe to grant the petitions would be to inflict a great calamity on the Church and the slave. I am not among those who believe that slaveholding is sinful under all circumstances, nor do I believe that immediate emancipation is required at the hand of the master, or that would be for the good of the slaves. On the whole, my opinion is that the best thing that could be done would be to let the M. E. Church alone on the subject; let the preachers alone. If any thing can be done for the slave, it cannot be done by violent measures, and we ought to be careful not to throw a firebrand into the South. Our brethren in the South are doing a good work, and we ought not to throw any thing in their way.

Since the commencement of the discussion, I have heard a harsh note, and it has fallen heavily and with a grating sound upon my ear; it is the note of disunion. I wish to say, once for always, that I can take no part in the work of dividing the church. If you begin the work of dividing, it will not stop with the South; when a division shall have taken place between the North and South, the spirit of division will then but just be waked up, and it will come down upon the whole church with desolations of ruin. When the unity of the M. E. Church shall be broken up, I can no longer consider it an honor to be a member of her communion, or a minister at her altar. When I consider how great we have become, and how far and wide we have extended, not only the influence but the blessings of Methodism,* and then think of breaking up, to the great delight of the world, giving occasion of triumph to our enemies, and exciting the contempt of common infidels, my heart sickens within me. Are we met for the last time, and shall not the M. E. Church be represented in General Conference again as one body? Are these venerable men, [turning to the bench of Bishops] who are the connecting link and strong bond of union, to see the institutions and interests over which they have presided and watched with such deep solicitude, scattered to the four winds, amid their efforts and tears and prayers to preserve and perpetuate them? When you take such a step, then will sound the knell of Methodism's departed glory! I dread nothing more than division; I do not wish to part with these brethren; I do not wish to meet the consequences of the strife and family feuds that must follow a division. I ask then, cannot some common ground be struck out, upon which all can meet, where the North and South and East and West can unite? As a middle man, I can meet on any ground upon which the extremes can come together; but if I am compelled to a vote in the case, with my views of both the law and the circumstances, I must say, "I love Cæsar, but I love Rome more." I will close my remarks, after suggesting the following as common ground upon which it appears to me all might meet. I do not offer it as a motion, but only throw it out as a suggestion.

Whereas the Rev. James O. Andrew, one of the Bishops of the M. E. Church, has become connected with slavery, by marriage and otherwise, and whereas a large proportion of our ministers and membership in many of the annual conferences are known to have always been opposed to the election of a slaveholding Bishop, believing that such an event is in contravention of the Discipline, which contemplates the Episcopacy as an itinerant general superintendency, and calculated also to strengthen the bonds of slavery; and whereas the peace and unity

of the church in the non-slaveholding conferences will be liable to serious interruption from the connection of Bishop Andrew with slavery, without some definite action of the General Conference in relation to it, Therefore,

1. Resolved, That the members of this General Conference are constrained to express their profound regret, that the Rev. James O. Andrew, one of the general superintendents, has become connected with slavery, in view of the fact, that while thus circumstanced, he cannot perform the duties of his office acceptably to a large proportion of the ministers and members of our church.

2. Resolved, That Bishop Andrew be, and he hereby is affectionately and earnestly requested to take the necessary measures to free himself from his connection with slavery at the earliest period practicable within the ensuing four years.

3. Resolved, That all the matter pertaining to the appeal of Rev. Silas Comfort, tried at the General Conference in 1840, be erased from the journal.

At the conclusion of the above speech, Bishop Andrew arose, and addressed the Conference as follows:—

Brethren, I have endeavored to listen to the arguments that have been urged on both sides of my case, and to listen candidly; and all who have any knowledge of the passions and sympathies of human nature, must know that I have felt most acutely during the protracted discussion. I have vacated my seat and retired back, because I considered myself on trial; and I have kept silent with the exception of the remark I made this morning by way of explanation. I have no quarrel with any who have taken part in the proceeding: they have all treated me as kindly as I had any right to expect. I have no contention even with my abolition brethren; though I think their opinions false and mischievous, yet I can believe them honest, and can treat them with the same courtesy which they have extended to me. I thought it was due to myself to make a few remarks before the vote should be finally taken, which I hope will soon be done. The discussion has now been protracted a week, and I think a week is long enough for one man to be shot at.

I never aspired to the Episcopal office, and never thought of being a Bishop until my friend, Br. Hodges, now in heaven, sought an interview with me on the subject, and requested that I should consent to be nominated. I was unwilling for many reasons. I had no love for the office; I was with a conference that I loved and that loved me. And what was I to gain? A separation from a happy home, from an affectionate com-

panion, and from children more beloved than life. But my friend urged me, and I at last consented, with the hope of a failure; and one of the happiest events in my life would it have been, had it proved a failure: for then I had not seen this day. But I was nominated and elected. No one asked me if I was a slaveholder; no one asked me my principles on the subject: and no one dared to ask a pledge of me, or it would have been met as it would have deserved. But one man spoke with me on the subject, and that was Br. Winans, who told me that he could not vote for me, because he believed me to have been nominated under the impression that I was not a slaveholder. I never was a believer in the secret will of God, as some used to preach it; I believe in the revealed will of God as it is found in the Scriptures. So I believe in the revealed will of the church as contained in the Discipline; and I took office upon the broad platform of that book, and I believe its provisions cover my case. I supposed it was expected that I would reside at the South, and residing there I must of course employ Southern help of some sort. My wife could not do the work; I could not do it, and hence I was compelled to hire some one to do it. If I did not own slaves, I must hire slaves of those who did own them. In this way, I could hire for but a year at a time, and, of course, servants would feel but little interest in me, and I of course would have less influence over them. Under such circumstances, I believe less sin would have been committed had I bought slaves; but still I forebore to purchase. But at last I came into the possession of slaves as I have stated, and I became a slaveholder without my consent, and without power to help myself.

It is known to this Conference that I have been called to pass through deep affliction; I have buried the companion of my bosom and the mother of my children. On this subject I need not speak further than to say that I needed a wife, and I needed one who would be a mother to my children. I found a woman that suited me, and I married her voluntarily, as I trust all do, and as all should who enter into such connections. I did it in the fear of God, and God has blessed the union. I might have avoided all this by resorting to a trick, but I would not do it. A person who supports the measure against me, asked me why I did not have them secured to my wife with an annuity settled upon her children, and thus put them beyond my legal control? My reply was, I would not resort to any trick; if I could not stand upon my principles in view of the naked facts in the case, I would fall. I commenced my labors in the ministry when I was but eighteen years old, and I am now fifty, and I have not made property by my ministry; I knew therefore, should I be taken away, I had nothing to leave to my wife to make her

comfortable after I should be gone, and those slaves were her only dependence in such case, and I did not feel disposed to deprive her of this only source of support should I be taken away. I have labored for the good of the colored man; when but a youth I taught them in a Sabbath School, the first of the kind I ever heard of; and I think I may safely say, that no one has done more with so little means. And now, after all, I stand here accused of having inflicted a great evil upon the Church. I have nothing to disguise. I now say that I could free those slaves, so far as is consistent with the laws of the State that they should be free. They are legally the property of my wife, but should I say that I wished to emancipate them, she would not object. But how is it to be done? They cannot be emancipated in the State. To what free State then shall I take them — and what is to be their condition there? Some of them are already old and worn out, and are no longer able to labor for their support. How are they to be provided for? Others have always lived with my wife, and are so attached to her that they would not consent to leave her. Under such circumstances I can only let them remain, and treat them as the Gospel requires. One person said to me that if he were in my place, he would clear himself of the embarrassment, if they all went to the devil; but I dare not act upon such a principle. Those who know me, know that I cannot be controlled in my actions by property, interests or the love of money.

Such are the facts, and such are my views and feelings. I have no concession to make, — I will make none. I throw myself upon the book which I believe provides for and justifies my position. If the Conference thinks me unworthy to fill the place I occupy, you can send me back from whence you took me, when you called me to fill the post. I can go back and labor for the slave, as I have done.

It has been said that I am not acceptable to the preachers and people. This may be true, and still no one be to blame for it; for I know I cannot preach much. But as it is said that I am not acceptable to *our* people, I am led to ask who *our* people are? I believe I am acceptable in the South, hence the South cannot be *our* people, in the estimation of those who use the term. I may not be acceptable with those who insist on the freedom of the bodies of the slaves, let what may become of their souls. I believe I am acceptable through the whole South, still, you can dispose of me as you like; I make no plea for mercy; I do not wish to go on labor where I am not acceptable. I might have supposed myself acceptable in this city, if I had been left to judge from what I witnessed among the people, but I may not be acceptable among the preachers. I do not wish to lay hands on the heads of those who feel

themselves polluted by my touch. No one of the General Superintendents does or can go through the whole connection; and if you should see fit to let me remain, I have no doubt my colleagues will know enough not to send me where I am not wanted. I have only to add further, that I wish you would change the issue, and take the vote to depose me directly, and take the vote without further delay, for I have been in suspense long enough.

Mr. Schon, of Ohio, said it was not owing to any want of interest on his part, that he had not spoken before. I am, said the speaker, but a young man, and old men have occupied the floor. It is the first General Conference I ever attended, yet duty to those who sent me here requires that I should say something, for I must vote, and I must give my reasons for the vote I shall give. I know I am liable to have it said of me, that I am converted to the South; but if I am converted, my conversion is not a new one. I hold the same sentiments now that I have from the beginning. The same views which I expressed in letters which I wrote from the South in 1841, and which you, Mr. Watchman, did me the honor to engrave upon your high tower. [As this was pronounced the speaker pointed most significantly at the reporter, who had his seat in the centre of the front gallery, and who returned the compliment by one of his best bows.] The speaker continued: it is by these same principles I wish to stand or fall. If my people will not receive me with the open avowal of my sentiments, I will fall. And I will express my opinions so that when I sit down, the Conference will not be at a loss to know which side I am on, as they must have been in the case of the last speaker, [Mr. Collins.] I am opposed to the original resolution, and the substitute. I may be asked if I am opposed to my own substitute, as my name was attached to it. My answer is, when I put my name to it, it had another form; and it has been altered with my name to it, without my consent or knowledge. If, after all this, it be insisted that I am converted, I will try to strengthen the brethren.

I admit that this Conference can try and suspend, or expel a bishop. But is this a trial? In my view it has none of the forms of a trial; and if it is designed to produce the results of a trial without its forms, it is all illegal. If it be called a trial, I should prefer, with the Bishop, to have the issue changed to direct suspension. Brethren have talked about another substitute to conciliate, but none has been presented. Why do they not give us something of this character if they intend to? I believe that no ground of action is safe which is not clearly founded upon the letter of the Discipline. It is true I voted in the Convention of non-slaveholders to request Bishop Andrew to resign; but it was

before any action was had, and subsequent investigation has convinced me that that was wrong.

I occupy a peculiar relation to slavery. My father I believe to be a very good man, and yet he is a slaveholder. I was born in Virginia, and reared amid the institutions of slavery, but I removed to a free State where I wish to live and die. I have freed more slaves than any other man on this floor. I took them from Virginia to Ohio, but it is now doubted whether I have really bettered their condition. But what can the Bishop do with his slaves? It has been said that the Bishop is not acceptable on account of his connection with slavery. This may be true of New Hampshire, but he would be welcome to any of the pulpits in Cincinnati or Philadelphia. I am willing to meet this statement before the people. I know they will give the Bishop a place in the warmest chambers of their bosoms. I am bound to the South as strong as with the withes of Sampson. There are the graves of my ancestors. I have only to add that the proceeding is inexpedient, because it will injure the slave.

Mr. Winans said he wished to speak, and he wished he was better prepared than he was, for owing to indisposition he should not be able to do justice to the cause he felt it his duty to advocate. Entertaining the views I do, said the speaker, I feel it my duty to speak, notwithstanding all the embarrassments that press upon me. The Conference has a pledge in my general course not to be tedious, for I never make long speeches.

I shall attempt to examine the fundamental law of the Discipline as applicable to this case, and reply to the argument of the learned brother from Ohio, (Mr. Hamline.) If I understood his arguments, they rested upon three propositions, viz., that the General Conference had supreme legislative, judicial and administrative power. On the subject of the legislative power of the General Conference I will not quarrel, for it looks too much like quibbling to deny that the General Conference has some sort of legislative power, notwithstanding the General Conference once denied it. Nor will I contend about the judicial power of the General Conference, if by it is meant a power to apprehend and try a bishop. This is not disputed, and I hope no false issue will be made on this point. Waving these points, I come to the proposition that the Conference has supreme administrative power. I understood the brother to say that the Conference possesses absolute and unlimited administrative power. Do I do him justice? If not, let him speak.

Mr. Hamline said he was not disposed to interrupt the speaker during his remarks; if he was misrepresented, he would make the correction when he had finished his remarks.

Mr. Winans proceeded and said, the brother may rest assured that I will not intentionally misrepresent him; I wish however that he had corrected me if I am wrong, but as he declines, I must proceed to answer him as I understand him, and though I fight a man of straw, I shall buffet it with all my might.

I absolutely deny that the General Conference has any original administrative power; it is a creature with delegated attributes, and no other. What are the delegated powers of the General Conference, and where are they to be found? They must be in the book of discipline, where I should have supposed a Methodist preacher would have looked for them, instead of exploring the region of metaphysics. The delegated power of the General Conference is a power to make rules and regulations for the Church. If this Conference has plenary power, may God save the Church! [Amen! responded from several voices.] Has a mere majority of this Conference, composed as it is of great men, and sober sometimes on some subjects, unlimited power over the officers of the Church? And can it, in the exercise of its administrative power, administer its own unwritten will as law, before it has first been framed into a rule or regulation? The power of the conference is to make rules and regulations for the Church, and for the government of the officers of the church. But where is the rule or regulation of the Conference for dismissing a bishop from his office without impeachment, or where is the rule or regulation contravened by Bishop Andrew's connection with slavery? The conference can make rules and regulations under certain restrictions, and can then enforce those rules upon such officers as are amenable to them, and beyond this their power does not extend.

There is no rule authorizing this proceeding. The rule that authorizes the conference to expel a bishop for improper conduct does not authorize this. The argument of brother Hamline, that if the major be granted the minor follows, is not true in this case. Power to expel a bishop does not include the power to reprove, or to suspend, or to depose without expulsion. What would be a reprov'd bishop, and what would be the respect that a reprov'd bishop could command? If the bishop has conducted himself improperly, let him be expelled. It is dangerous to infer one power from another; especially in the administration of law and justice, no penalty should be inflicted for which there is not an explicit warrant in the law. We cannot safely infer the power to suspend, from the power to expel.

But what is the rule of judging what is and what is not improper conduct? Is it this or that brother's opinion of propriety, without refer-

ence to law? The rule in this case is this — the conduct of the bishop is disapproved of somewhere, and therefore is improper. I could not have made myself believe that the stress of circumstances could have induced men to adopt such principles of action. Let this be adopted, and any man's conduct can be rendered improper by getting up a dissatisfaction with it, and every agitator is at full liberty to get up an excitement and to manufacture infernal fires to scorch and burn the vitals of the church and the world. I would not dare to trust my character in the hands of this conference, held accountable for the propriety of my conduct, if they are to make popular sentiment, as it may exist in different localities, the standard of propriety.

But another rule has been urged, which is that Bishop Andrew was elected as a non-slaveholder. Suppose he was elected as a non-slaveholder, it does not effect the constitutionality of the question. If it would have been constitutional to have elected him as a slaveholder, or to have elected any other slaveholder, that settles the question, and his connection with slavery cannot be unconstitutional now. The effort to make out a usage out of the fact that there never has been a slaveholder elected to the Episcopacy, appears to me to be a weak affair. There has never been a bishop elected from Mississippi, but I deny that it is against the usage of the Church to elect a bishop from that conference, nor will there ever be any such usage, if a bishop should never be elected from that conference. The fact is a mere negation, there is no usage in the case. A practice grows into a usage only when it is pursued by common consent; but the results of popular and contested elections never become a usage. Time has been when a slaveholder wanted only one vote of an election to the Episcopacy. But suppose Bishop Andrew was elected as a non-slaveholder, is he responsible for the secret motives with which northern men voted for him? He made no pledge on the subject of slavery, and he knew his rights on the subject, according to the general laws of the Church.

But it has been said that the Section on Slavery does not relate to bishops, but to travelling preachers. I admit that there is a special law for bishops, but that does not take them out of the general laws for travelling preachers. A bishop is a travelling preacher, and the law is a general law, including all travelling preachers. "When any travelling preacher becomes the owner of a slave," is the language of the law, and can it be denied that a bishop is comprehended in the term "any travelling preacher?" If the bishop is not to be tried by that law, by what law is he to be tried? There is no other law on the subject, and if that does not relate to the bishop, there is no law touching his case, and where there is no law there is no transgression.

The brother from Baltimore (Mr. Collins) demurred at the use of the term compromise, because there was not two parties concerned in the transaction. Well, he illustrated the nature of a compromise by the action of the convention which formed the constitution of the United States, and the slaveholding and non-slaveholding states were the parties in the compromise. Let me say, then, that the United States are one people, and it is as easy to see how slaveholding and non-slaveholding conferences could be parties in a compromise, though all one church, as it is to see how slaveholding and non-slaveholding states could be parties in a compromise, all belonging to the same nation under the same general government. When the compromise act was passed the South had a majority in the General Conference, and yet they were so generous as to yield to the views of the Church, but now the North has a majority, are they as magnanimous? A certain great man near New York said months ago, that the South had got all the concession from the North they would ever get. Now let me say that concession has all been the other way, from the beginning. We have seen our interest cramped from time to time, and have borne it, not always patiently I allow, but we have borne it for the sake of the unity of the Church. But we can go no farther without ruin. When the South had a majority, she said to the North, Here, let us now settle our differences upon this common ground. The North has a majority now, and she is like the cuckoo, who only wishes to get its head into the nest of the small bird, but was not satisfied until she had crowded the other bird out and got possession of the whole nest.

When the Methodists first begun to take action on slavery, there were no laws in the States against emancipation, and the work was going on, but the Methodists thought it went too slow, so they put their shoulder to the wheel to help it on, and the legislatures chained the wheel, and I am sorry to say the chain is being riveted on by misguided zeal — I will not say wicked zeal. But after all that you have done, you are not satisfied yet, but now insist on deposing Bishop Andrew. Let this go to the world, let it be published in the South, and what will our declarations amount to that it is not connected with the abolition movements. It will be seen that the M. E. Church sympathizes with abolition, though she may not be fully baptized into the reform of the non-government principles. You are this moment up to the hub in abolition. Why do you seek to depose Bishop Andrew? The only answer is that he is connected with slavery, and if he is convicted it will be a declaration that all slaveholding is a sin or a disqualification for office in the Church, and what more do the abolitionists demand? I do not wonder

that the abolitionists have given over their cause in perfect confidence into the hands of the Conference. There will be a general shout among the abolitionists, if this resolution passes. Can the abolitionists deny it?

Mr. Porter from New England and Mr. Randall from Maine said they did deny it.

Mr. Winans continued: All they ask will follow from this resolution. It will be seen that there can be no reason, founded in right and moral principle, for putting the bishop down for his connection with slavery, which will not go just as far towards providing that all slaveholding ministers should be deposed, and that slavery should be put out of the church. The resolution is therefore a thorough-going abolition measure.

I cannot forgive the Baltimore delegates, because they claimed to be conservatives while they were destroying conservatism. Of what are they conservatists? Not of the church, for they are plunging a dagger to her very vitals. It is not to save the church from extremes that they are conservatives, for they sanction one extreme. If they are conservatives, they are conservatists of abolition. I repeat it: I cannot forgive the Baltimore Conference delegates, unless they will take back the assertion that they are conservatives. I love the Baltimore Conference; I was born there, and first met in class there; but when they take me by the beard to kiss me and then stab me, I will not say, 'and you too Brutus,' but I am constrained to say, and you too Collins among them? [Applause] A distinguished brother from Baltimore had represented himself as laying one hand upon the shoulder of the abolitionists and the other upon the shoulder of the slaveholders, with a view to hold on to both, and as loving both. It looks to me, however, as though one hand was on the shoulder of the North, and the other hand hold of the throat of the South, and I would say, Do not in any of your spasms of love choak us to death. If they will vote injustice upon a brother whom they dare not charge with crime, I can never believe them when they say they are conservatives. I do not charge the motives of the Baltimore brethren, I am willing to allow that they may be honest, and design only the good of the Church. — I have spoken too long for my strength, and perhaps too loud for the rules of a Methodists preacher: but I would debate till January, if I had strength, rather than see the Church broken to pieces and held up to the scorn of the world. I would rather not return to my wife and children for a year, than to see the church ruined, and it will be ruined if you pass that resolution.

After a few words of explanation by Mr. Hamline, Mr. Finley of Ohio said he had a desire to speak and give his reasons for introducing the substitute. He said he represented a respectable conference, and

they had confided the interests of the M. E. Church to him. He said he had been taught from the beginning that the Discipline contained no conservation for slavery. The Discipline declares that slavery is a great evil, and we cannot suppose that it is conservative towards a great evil. It is, however, a conservative document, it has a conservation for the men who are involved in slavery. I am sure I shall be borne out by my conference and the people, that I am on the old ground, and I cannot be driven from it. Our Southern brethren can make me cry, but they cannot convert me. The Discipline does not tolerate slaveholding only where the law forbids emancipation; where they can free their slaves and do not, they can be cut off. So far as the Discipline goes, so far I go for Southern rights, and I go no farther.

There are two principles involved in the substitute which I wish this Conference to sanction.

1. This Conference has the power to discharge a Bishop when he in any way is rendered incapable of carrying out the principles and securing the ends for which the Episcopacy is constituted. It has always been my doctrine, that when a Bishop becomes old and infirm he ought to resign. Bishop Roberts tendered his resignation to the General Conference in 1836, and I voted in favor of accepting it, because I believed in the doctrine, and because I wanted to secure the precedent. What were the reasons which that venerable man offered for tendering his resignation? They were, first, that through age his strength failed him so that he was not able to perform the work of a Bishop, and carry out the principle of a general superintendency. Secondly, he was sensible that his mental powers were failing, and he wished to retire from his responsible position before he got wise in his own opinion, as old men are apt to when they begin to fail. If a Bishop be disqualified from any other cause, the principle is the same.

2. The principle of connecting slavery with the Episcopacy is involved in the resolution, and its passage or rejection settles the question whether the Church is prepared to receive a man as a Bishop who is connected with slavery, there being nothing else against him. I have been astonished at the reasons that have been rendered by brethren in this discussion. It has been said that when the Methodists began to take action on the subject of slavery, the laws admitted of emancipation in all the states, but when the church began to legislate on the subject, the states passed laws forbidding emancipation. I know how it was in the West, I commenced there when there was but one man besides myself, and that was old brother Cartwright, and he has converted all the West. The Methodist preachers used to preach against slavery,

and slaveholders used to scold some, and still they would come to hear us and feed us. When I was on the Indian mission I came out into the settlement among slaveholders, and they wanted I should preach, and I told them I would, but I should preach against slavery. No, a brother said, we want you to tell us some anecdotes about those Indians. The people came together, and I preached, and I told them about the wickedness of slavery. When I had got done, the brother said, "Brother Finley, you are the most wilful man I ever say, you will have your own way." At first they tried to stop us by turning their pop-gun law against us. There was old brother Young, he used to preach against slavery. He was a fearless, zealous man, and they used to call him the Western war-horse. Well, he got taken up for preaching against slavery, and was fined ten dollars. He said he could not pay ten dollars, and he hated to go to jail. A brother stepped up and paid the fine, and told him to keep on preaching against slavery, and he would pay his fine again, if they fined him. There was Cartwright and Axley, and others that used to preach against slavery in those days. Now I will tell you how it was that the church commenced taking ground against slavery. The preachers began to get slaves, and we opposed it. We had hoped that the Gospel would do away slavery, but we saw it would not, if the preachers became slaveholders. I am not able yet, brethren, to see how it is that the Gospel can ever do away slavery, if preached by slaveholding ministers. Bear with me, for I must speak plainly; must we become connected with an evil to exert an influence against it? Can we promote the cause of temperance by becoming connected with rum-selling establishments? I cannot so understand things, brethren. I say we used to preach against slavery, and I believe the gospel would have abolished slavery before this time, if the preachers had not become slaveholders. When they became slaveholders they ceased to preach against slaveholding, and next they began to oppose others who continued to preach against slaveholding, and next they began to oppose others who continued to preach against slavery, and that was what produced the present state of things. That this is the true history of the state of things, Cartwright is my witness. [Laughter.]

I can say, brethren, that I am free from slavery. I was born in a slave State, reared amid slavery, but as soon as I was old enough I fled from it, and went into the wilds of Ohio, and dug out a trough and pounded hominy, and hunted racoons and bears for a living, and I say I am clear from slavery.

But we are told that slaves are held out of charity to them. It is to me a singular charity that would take me and own me, and sell me and

make me work for others for nothing, all my life! Do not be offended, brethren, I must tell the truth, if it takes all the hair off my head. You say you hold slaves for their good, that you treat them as your children. Do you then put your children under overseers, to be driven with a whip from Monday morning until Saturday night? Do you teach your children that it is better to be a slave than to be free, and that it would be a deed of charity to hold and use them as slaves are held and used? I cannot swallow all this, it will not go down with me.

I cannot compromise my principles. When I go back to my conference and the people, no one shall say that I compromise my principles, and when I am in my grave, no one shall write upon my tomb stone that I ever compromise one of my principles. I cannot see how the passage of that resolution can be such a great and awful affliction to the South. It appears to me that it is the least we can do. Less than that will not answer. You may call me an abolitionist; well, I am one, but not a *radico* abolitionist. If the South can show a better way to meet the case, discharge our responsibilities, and save the Church, I shall be glad to unite with them in it, but until such better way is pointed out, I must go for the resolution before the house.

Mr. Winans made a few remarks, followed by Mr. Schon, who commented in few words on the history of the resolution before the house, when the Conference adjourned by expiration of the time.

Afternoon Session. — Bishop Waugh in the chair. Religious services by H. J. Clarke.

Mr. Cartwright took the floor for a speech, and the Conference laughed in anticipation of what they appeared to think he would say. The speaker proceeded as follows:

Mr. President, I cannot say much, and in what little I do say, I cannot be ardent, eloquent or logical. I do not wish to offend any one; and indeed I am not much afraid of it, for I hardly ever do offend any body. The discussion has taken a very wide range, and the speakers have scattered worse than an old *yawger*. Many of the speeches have not come within four miles of the question, and so wide of it have they generally been, that perhaps I ought to ask pardon for alluding to it at all. From the long and able debate on the subject — and since yesterday morning there have been some pretty respectable speeches — I presume the constitutionality of our proceeding is the main point at issue, for the law has been examined and explained from a private member up to the honorable bench of bishops. It is my object in the few remarks that I may make, to disabuse the minds of the Conference of some of the unmeasured assertions and heterodox opinions that have been advanced and defended.

It has been the order, in discussion, for speakers to commence their speeches by telling their experience, and I hope I shall be borne with if I pursue the same course, for I always did like these experience meetings first rate. But bro. Green has so used up every term in the English language, that when I search for one or two, I find them missing. And by the by, he must be a very wonderful man, for he has been among Indians, and panthers, and bears, and wolves, and wildcats, racoons, and woodchucks, and was never scared before he came to this Conference. I admire his courage, but his religious experience was not just like mine, after all. If so happens, unworthy as I am, that I am one of the old preachers. I joined the western conference in 1805, which was then one of the seven conferences in the United States. The debate about Methodist law and Methodist usage has brought to my mind some of my earliest recollections, and they have not been painful recollections. I was born in Amherst County, on James River. I hope my dear brother from Old Virginia (Mr. Early) will not repudiate me, for that would make me feel bad. I emigrated to Kentucky among the bears and wildcats and Indians, about which my friend talked so eloquently. I know all about them; and had he been compelled to stand as I have in the open field, with Indians firing from behind every tree in the neighborhood, he might have been scared before he came to this conference — but that is not important. The first Methodist preacher I ever heard or have any recollection of, died not long since in the South; he baptized me, and I have no doubt he was well known to the brethren from that section. Now my experience differs from the history, some of the speakers have given of this vexed question. I never heard of a Methodist preacher who was not opposed to slavery from stem to stern, and they opposed it in all good conscience in public and in private. And as reference has been made to the unsettled state of the question, I wish it understood that during all the discussions and excitements on the subject, the early history of the church does not furnish one instance in which a Methodist preacher advocated the right of slavery. We have heard much about the compromise. Our Southern brethren insist that it is legitimate, that it was regularly adopted and baptized as a child of Methodism, but it appears to me that what they describe as a compromise is a whining, cross little brat. When what is called the compromise was adopted there was not an advocate for slavery on the floor; there was not a slaveholder on the floor. A brother says the South has yielded more and more, until the North has grown so bold as to attempt to degrade the bishop, and hurl him down from his dignity. I do not so understand it, — as I have said, the preachers were

once all opposed to slavery. I have suffered for the slave, I have been in prison for preaching that slavery is a sin, but still I did and would preach it. I have thought they could not pass a law which would so bind me, that I could not squeal out of one corner of my mouth against oppression. I have been through one seven years' contest on this subject, and have seen judges and law books brought upon the floor of the Conference to screen ministers from the law of the Church. Take the original organization of the church, and compare it with our present position, and see which has encroached, the North or the South. Where was the church in 1805, when she declared that not an attribute of God could be reconciled to slavery?—but now we are contending about slaveholding dishops.

But the constitutional power to do what is proposed is the great point. Well, if we have rules for the government of all grades, until we come to the bishop, and have no rule to touch him by expulsion, we are in a woeful condition. From a class leader up, all other officers may be displaced because they are not useful, without any charge of immoral conduct, and if we have no such power to deal with a dishop, our economy is defective. I was never a favorite with the bishops, though I helped make those on the bench; yet I have never had cause of complaint. I received appointments under Asbury, and was always ready to go any where, and could make a hard circuit a good one. I have no spite to vent against the bishops. I will forbear to notice Bishop Andrew's connection with slavery, but I must notice some of the doctrines that have been advanced by Southern brethren. After being killed dead and buried in the cause of liberty, as I have been, I cannot back out, if they do call me an abolitionist, as they are disposed to call the whole North. We have been told that a man living in the South is liable to become a slaveholder against his will. Can any man believe, in his sober mind, that men become slaveholders against their will, and that they cannot get rid of it. It looks to me more like humbuggery than anything else. I once had the misfortune to become a slaveholder by heirship. I could have plead the disabilities of the law, and have plead in truth, and with a certainty of meeting with sympathy, but I did not do so. I was resolved to be like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion on the subject of slavery. I took them to a free State, set them free, gave them land, and built them a house, and they raised more bread and meat than I could, and have made more money than I ever did by preaching the Gospel. I only name this as an offset to what has been said on the other side about men being made slaveholders against their will. A Methodist preacher can free his slaves in Kentucky, by giving

security. The law requires security, and it is right it should, and some of the brethren who looked somewhat to the flesh pots of Egypt, hesitated about emancipating their slaves in view of the security required, and I stepped in and took the responsibility. I stand this moment security for no less than two hundred. There is one thing I hurl back with the contempt it deserves; it is this calling every man that will not chime in with their views an abolitionist, and their perpetual assertions that if this resolution passes we shall be an abolition church. It is not true; I am on the old Methodist ground, but I thank God I have no modern abolition blood in my veins.

I have one thing more to say, and that is that I hope brethren will not get frightened at the glow-worm. Let the South take fire if they will; we have seen it lighten and heard it thunder before, and the world has not come to an end yet, as Mr. Miller predicted. Brethren talk of division, and appear to think of frightening us from our principles. This looks to me like sickly nonsense. We will not leave the old ship Zion, we will stick to the church. We know nothing of those magazines of powder that brother talked about. I wonder if he is not afraid of seeing ghosts when he is alone in the dark. I hope we shall hear no more about this frightful division. I do not believe in a division, and have not from the first. Suppose I should leave the M. E. Church, she would not miss me any more than an ass would miss a gnat off his horn. Venerable names and sainted bishops have been dragged in to show how near the church has come to having a slaveholding bishop. Well, I may say in reply to all this, that "a miss is as good as a mile." One man came within one vote of being elected, but then, for want of that one vote, he was not a bishop. It has been said that bishop McKendree intended to purchase a slave. In reply to this, I have heard that venerable man say five hundred times, that if he owned a thousand slaves, he would not die a slaveholder. I must be allowed to notice the array of mighty ones we have to contend with on this subject.

One brother, [Mr. Green,] and he must have a tremendous disposition, said he would fight any way, on his feet, or on his knees, or on his back, and would never yield any way we could fix it. Well, I do not wish to fight with that brother, but he will have fighting enough to do before he gets through.

There is my learned brother from Georgia [Mr. Longstreet,] he diverted me much with the Latin he quoted. He is no doubt a Christian and a gentleman, but his Latin reminded me of a man in one of the Western States, who was appointed a constable and sent with a

warrant to apprehend an individual who concealed himself in a swamp. So the young officer returned his warrant, and to show himself very learned he wrote his return on the back in these words:—“*In swampum et non comeatum.*” I must also pay my respects to the little learned brother, [Mr. Pierce,] who was so gentle as not to disturb the hair on the head of a man perfectly bald. [J. T. Peck.] What I would say is this that when we get warm and heated in debate, we are apt to say things we would not say when we were cool. As to myself, I am always cool and good natured. But you know, during this discussion, we have been threatened. I do not like this, for I never threaten unless I get out of temper; and then nobody will be scared because I threaten. Now we have been threatened with division and all that sort of thing. Now I love the little brother, but I hope he will not drive us as the old fellow drove his swine.

There is one other speaker who deserves my respects, [Dr. Smith.] He is a very great man, and full of courage, and threatens us with protests that shall burn upon our cheeks before the American people and American church, and with injunctions, and I don't know what all. Now I have no doubt that brother has great courage, moral and physical, but I shall venture to pronounce a eulogy upon him. It is this:—David slew the lion and the bear, and killed Goliath—Samson slew the Philistines with the jaw-bone of an animal, hip and thigh, and Alexander conquered the world, but thou hast excelled them all. It has been said that no good has been done by the action of the church on the subject of slavery, that no slaves have been emancipated by it. Now I know that statement is not true. I once heard a venerable bishop say that when ultra abolition should subside, an influence will be felt behind which will free the world. I know that much evil has been done by the ultra discussions at the North, but I am not accountable for that, nor is my conference responsible for it. But there are ultra men in the South as well as in the North. One word about New York. I was opposed to the conference coming to New York. New York was opposed to ultra abolitionism, and I came here to represent an annual conference that was also opposed to this ultraism. I must refer to the noble stand taken by the Baltimore Conference, and I hope they will not allow themselves to be scared from their principles. I have seen the design of the attacks upon them, and who can help seeing it? I have felt for them. Who does not know that these brethren are upon the old Methodist ground? But the brother says he cannot forgive them. Well, I hope they will not need his forgiveness, that they may go to heaven without it. I know how they are connected with slavery, and

the difficulties in their way, but in spite of all the eloquence and power of their opposers, they will come out unsinged and without the smell of fire upon their garments.

If the general rules are to be respected which clearly condemn slavery, and if the restrictive rules with them are the constitution, I cannot see why this Conference may not regulate and control every officer. I hope we shall let our votes tell, and not dodge the question.

After Mr. Cartwright had concluded his remarks,

Mr. Crandall, of New England, moved that the debate be closed and that the question be taken at half past five o'clock this afternoon. Mr. C., said in support of his motion, that the bishop himself wished it decided, and he thought the Conference ought to respect the bishop's wishes. He said the debate had now progressed for six days, and he could see no prospect of its ever closing, if they were to continue it until all parties had said all they might wish to say. The South had occupied most of the time, and with that he was satisfied. He believed that the vote should have been taken at the close of the bishop's remarks. He wished to give him all the advantage the nature of the case would allow, and he did not believe there had been a time, or that a time would again come, when the side to which he was opposed would command as many votes as it would have done at the conclusion of the bishop's remarks.

Mr. Early moved to lay Mr. Crandall's resolution on the table, which was lost.

Dr. Capers then opposed the resolution. He said they needed all the light and help they could get, and the subject was very far from being exhausted. He said the North had a majority and could pass the resolution, and the vote would be one determined by geographical lines. Under such circumstances he thought the majority ought to allow them the greatest freedom of discussion, and ought to give them their strongest argument for the proposed action.

Mr. Collins raised a question of order, claiming that the motion was out of order, because there was no rule for the previous question. The chair consulted with the bench of bishops, and stated that two of his colleagues thought the motion out of order, and the other doubted. For himself, he saw nothing disorderly in it, but to settle it he would decide the motion out of order, and if any one was disposed, an appeal could be taken.

Mr. Houghtaling of Troy appealed. The decision of the chair was sustained.

Mr. Stamper, of Illinois, next obtained the floor, and commenced a

speech ; but it was some time before the house became sufficiently still, and the speaker's voice sufficiently elevated, to enable the reporter to hear. The first sentence that struck his ear sufficiently distinct was as follows :—

I am opposed to the resolution ; I believe it to be radically wrong, and extra-judicial ; it is, in my view, a violation of the great compromise principles upon which the policy of the church has been settled. I am an anti slavery man ; I never owned a slave, and my father before me never owned a slave, and I never expect to own a slave ; yet I am convinced that it cannot be avoided in some circumstances ; it has been found by actual experiment that we cannot get along without allowing slaveholding in some circumstances. It was this that led to the adoption of the compromise act ; and we should have done well, prospered, and been at peace under this provision, but for the ultra abolitionists of the North. The State of Kentucky would have been free this day, but for the bad influence of modern abolitionism. Men in that State had entered into an association, and signed a constitution which bound them to emancipate all that were born after a certain date, and the work was going on ; but at this time, abolition came down upon them like a storm, and swept away the hopes of the slave, and put back the cause of emancipation fifty years. If the abolitionists, instead of attempting to ply their long guns to shoot the South, would look after their own poor at home, it would be better for all parties. Look at the condition of the colored people in Philadelphia and Cincinnati ; they have been driven away, hundreds at a time, without a shelter or a home. What then would be the effect if all were emancipated at once ? Where would they all find a home ? Let them all be made free, and they will melt away like snow. General and immediate emancipation would ruin the whole colored population.

The difference of opinion is not concerning the nature of slavery, but concerning the best manner of getting rid of it. It is a fact which should not be overlooked, that there are more colored members of the church in the South than in the North, which shows that the South is not behind the North in efforts for the moral culture of the colored race.

The law question has already been discussed beyond my abilities ; upon that therefore, I will say nothing. But I must oppose the resolution, because it will hinder the work in which our Southern brethren are engaged, and shut up the door of salvation to the poor slave. It is easy for men to cry at a distance ; the battle cry has no terror when there is no foe near ; but, brethren, will you, dare you go there and la-

bor for the good of the slaves amid the cotton fields and rice swamps? If my conscience was so tender on the subject of slavery, I would go where it is and oppose it. But if you will not go, do not prevent others from doing what good they can. I would say to the South, do not give up; do not leave the old ship; stick to her; she labors amid storms now, she is billow-tost and tempest-driven, but she will outride the whole, and the heavens shall become clear, and the elements calm. This is to try us; and let us endure it patiently, and it will end in good.

Mr. Dunwody, of South Carolina, next obtained the floor: but before commencing his speech he gave way for a motion to adjourn.

Bishop Soule gave notice that he desired to make some remarks before the question was pushed to a final close. This led to a considerable discussion concerning the right of the Bishops to speak at pleasure and the propriety or impropriety of their mingling in the discussions of the Conference, the whole of which resulted in the passage of a resolution inviting all the Bishops to speak on the question before the house before the final vote should be taken.

Wednesday, May 29.

No reports from committees being presented, the case of Bishop Andrew was declared to be in order.

Mr. Randall, of Maine, moved to suspend the order of the day, to give him an opportunity to offer the following resolution.

Resolved, That whenever in the judgement of a member of the Conference, any subject has been sufficiently discussed, it should be in order for him to move that the question be immediately put: that this motion shall be decided without debate; and if adopted by a majority the main question shall then be taken in the following order: First on the substitute if there be one, and secondly, on the amendment, and finally, on the original motion.

This motion was a signal for a storm; and amid the clamor of many voices, some one moved to lay the motion to suspend the order of the day on the table, which was lost.

Mr. Winans then opposed the motion with great spirit; he said, if the object was to save time, they would find themselves mistaken. We can debate this two days, and we will do it before it shall pass. You have driven us upon a precipice; and standing as we do upon its last verge, you refuse to hear us, but intend to thrust us off by the previous

question. Here are men of sense, who have labored to build up the church for ten, twenty, thirty and forty years, and who wish to speak, and you propose to put it in the power of a young man to rise up and say, you shall not be heard. Is it said that it is not known which side has the majority! It is known; were it not known, there would be none of these efforts to cut off debate and force the question upon us. These motions all come from one side.

Dr. Smith next made himself heard by the chair; and though he assumed an air of calmness, he was evidently much excited. He commenced by saying, I am in my right mind, am perfectly healthy in body, and can speak three days in opposition to the motion, and will do it before it shall pass.

J. T. Peck rose to a point of order, and asked the chair if the rule limiting speakers to fifteen minutes was suspended on any subject but the main question concerning Bishop Andrew.

The chair said it was not — that the fifteen minutes rule was in force on all other subjects.

Then, said Mr. Peck, Br. Smith can soon speak out his fifteen minutes, and some of the rest of us can have a chance in.

Much confusion, and several things said not understood by the reporter amid the confusion of tongues.

Dr. Smith resumed, and said he would speak out his fifteen minutes. The Conference, said Dr. S., will accumulate nothing but discredit to itself by adopting the course proposed. They will not save much time after all; it will take away the constitutional rights of brethren, as the representatives of conferences. Some conferences have not been heard, and will not be heard, if that resolution passes. The adoption of the fifteen minutes rule virtually says, that every man *may* speak fifteen minutes if he desires it. You may just as well say to the minority, you can go home, you have no business here. My fifteen minutes are out, and one whole hour has been consumed.

Mr. Slicer said he would vote for the resolution, if the mover would consent to amend it, so as to give the Conference power to stop discussion by a vote of two-thirds. He thought to put that power in the hands of a mere majority, might prove oppressive. If men have power, they are apt to use it.

Mr. Randall said he would admit the amendment of Mr. Slicer. He added that he was sorry that his motion had produced so much excitement and led to the consumption of so much time.

The motion to suspend the order of the day was then put and carried, and Mr. Randall's motion as amended was presented.

The reading of the resolution was called for: and on its being read, Dr. Bangs, who that moment came in, moved to strike out two-thirds, and insert a majority. This produced another excitement.

Mr. Early opposed the motion; but his remarks were not heard by the reporter.

Dr. Bangs obtained the floor in defence of his own motion to amend, and after speaking about fifteen minutes, amid frequent interruptions, he withdrew it, and the original motion was adopted.

Mr. Dunwoody, of South Carolina, was, now declared to be in order, having had the floor at the hour of adjournment last evening. He commenced by saying,

I feel it my duty to speak on a question so momentous as the one now before the house; I owe it to the South Carolina Conference. The preachers of that conference sent me here, because they believed the subject of slavery would come up in some way, and because they believed I understood the subject. The debate has taken a wide range, and brethren have been allowed to pursue a very general course in the discussion, and I trust I shall be allowed the same liberty, as I design to say nothing only what has an important bearing on the subject. I shall attempt to oppose the resolution on the following ground.

1. It is unscriptural.
2. It is contrary to the discipline of the Church; and,
3. It will be evil in its consequences.

If I understand the resolution, it is designed to cut off Bishop Andrew wholly from being Bishop. It is designed to say, in effect at least, that no slaveholder can be a bishop. And why can no slaveholder be a Bishop? It is because slavery is supposed to be a great moral evil. This renders it necessary to say something on the nature of slavery. I have no doubt the North is mistaken concerning the opinions of the South on the subject of slavery. They call us pro-slavery. We are not pro-slavery. I am opposed to slavery.

There are three parties in the Conference. first, the abolitionists, who hold that slavery is a sin under all circumstances. Secondly, conservatives. Abolition is too strong for them; they do not believe that slavery is a sin under all circumstances; but still they think they must do something; they must legislate in the church against slavery. The third class differ from the second only in point of measures to get rid of slavery. They hold that the only measures which they can consistently employ, as ministers, and as a church, is to preach the gospel to both the master and the slave. This is my doctrine; it is indeed the doctrine of all the South.

I believe slavery to be a moral evil. My reason is, the Scriptures forbid it. Nothing can be plainer than that Joseph's brethren sinned when they sold him into Egypt as a slave. Another scripture which proves slavery to be a moral evil is the history of the Israelites in Egypt. Vengeance fell from heaven upon the Egyptians for the sin of slavery.

I believe that the African slave trade is a moral evil. It had its origin in covetousness, and unless religion prevents, it must bring a dreadful scourge upon the nation. Mr. Jefferson said that he trembled for his country, when he remembered that God is just. But the North, and New England in particular, is deeply involved. She has been the principle agent in the slave trade. She employed many vessels in the traffic, and having got through and put the money in her pocket, she turns round and attempts to set the world on fire with abolition. But I understand her; her abolition excitement is intended to favor her more grave political schemes.

I believe also that the domestic slave trade between the States is a great evil. I do not say where one neighbor buys a slave of another, but there are men who make a business of it. They come to Virginia and buy up droves of slaves for the more Southern market, and husbands and wives, and parents and children are separated in the operation. But I do not believe that slavery is a moral evil in every case. Give me all that the Scriptures will allow, and I will do the same by you. That the Scriptures do justify slavery under some circumstances, is, to me, perfectly plain. The fourth commandment proves that slavery is right. "Thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy *man-servant*, nor thy *maid-servant*, nor thy *cattle*." Here servants are classed with other articles of property. The tenth commandment is another instance in which God gives his sanction to slavery. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his *man-servant*, nor his *maid-servant*, nor his *ox*, nor his *ass*, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's." — Here servants are classed with house, oxen, and all other articles of property,

Abraham was a slaveholder, and had many servants that were born in his house, and that were bought with his money. Hagar was a slave, and when she was roughly treated by her mistress, she fled. But the angel of the Lord appeared to her, and what did he do? Did he do as the abolitionists do, help her to fly from her mistress? He did not; he gave no countenance to the modern abolition doctrine. He called to her, "Hagar, Sarah's maid, whence comest thou, and whither wilt thou go? And she said, "I flee from the fate of my mistress, Sarah." And the angel of the Lord said unto her, "Go back! return to thy mistress, and

submit thyself into her hands." St. Paul, in his epistle to the Galatians sanctions the same view of the subject, by referring to Hager as a bond woman, and to Sarah as a free woman, to illustrate the law and the Gospel. Jacob was also a slaveholder, for he had men and maid servants. A Hebrew could not be a servant but for seven years, or until the Jubilee at farthest; but the heathen could be made slaves for ever, as we learn from Lev. xxv. 44, 46;—"Both thy bond-men and thy bond-women shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-women. * * * * They shall be your bond-men for ever.

Another instance of Bible slavery we find in the case of the Gibeonites, who deceived the children of Israel. They were taken for bondmen and were made hewers of wood and drawers of water. God cannot provide for the existence of moral evil, but we see that God has provided for the existence of slavery; slavery, therefore cannot be a moral evil.

I will now notice the New Testament, and we shall there find as clear a sanction of slavery as we have in the Old Testament.

Rom. xiii. 1, 2. — "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation."

In connection with the above text, I beg you to consider the twenty-third article of our religion, which says, that "The president, the congress, the general assemblies, the governors, and councils of State, as the delegates of the people, are the rulers of the United States of America." To this is appended a note, which says, "As far as respects civil affairs, we believe that it is the duty of Christians, and especially Christian ministers, to be subject to the supreme authority where they may reside, and to use all laudable means to enjoin obedience to the powers that be." Do men know what they are doing? Look at the subject as now before us. The Bible commands us to be subject to the higher powers, declaring them to be ordained of God, and that whosoever resists them, resists the ordinance of God, and must receive damnation. Our own articles of religion recognize the general government, and the governments of the several States, as such powers ordained of God, and commands obedience to them. Now the Southern States have ordained slavery, and to resist it is to violate our own articles of religion, to violate the word of God, and resist the ordinance of God, and purchase damnation. I repeat the question — do men know what they are doing? It appears to me there is a grand evil here. Paul says

if we resist we must receive damnation! What a dilemma are those in, who make such an uncompromising war upon slavery, and yet pretend to be Christians and Methodists!

The great apostle of the Gentiles, who was blessed with the light of inspiration, did not see slavery to be such a great evil as modern abolitionists pretend to have discovered it to be. Philemon was a slaveholder, and Paul sent back Onesimus to him, who was his slave, and who had run away from him. He sent him back with a letter, beseeching Philemon to forgive him, but he did not say one word about his emancipating him. St. Paul also taught the right of slavery in the sixth chapter of the first epistle to Timothy, "Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit." Two things are implied in these words.

1. The text implies a clear sanction of the relation of master and slave; the relation is recognized, and the authority of the master is sanctioned, and the obedience of the slave is enjoined.

2. The text teaches that a slaveholder may be a brother beloved, and a partaker of the benefit, and if so, slaveholding cannot be a sin, unless God sanction sin, unless a man can be a sinner, and a brother beloved and a partaker of the benefit at the same time.

This is the doctrine of Wesley, Coke, and Clarke, who all agree that slavery did exist in the apostolic Church, and that Christianity was never designed to cancel the civil right of men, or to absolve them from their civil relations and obligations. How these men could rail against slavery, is more than I can understand, after they had made such admissions. Clarke is obviously inconsistent with himself, when he says that perdition itself has scarcely an adequate place of punishment for slavery.

There are other texts which refer to slavery:—the case of the centurion is one, who said he was a man in authority, having servants under him, and he said to one go, and he goeth, and to another come, and he cometh. This man was a great slaveholder, and yet Christ said of him, he had not found so great faith, no, not in all Israel. Dr. Clarke renders this text, "having slaves under me," &c.

A Roman officer said to Paul, "With a great price obtained I this liberty;" but Paul said, "I was born free." There is one view more which I wish to give of this subject. Slavery is clearly recognized in the Scriptures, and rules are laid down, regulating the relation, between

master and slave. This it appears to me could not be, if the relation is a sinful one. For instance, Paul speaks of marriage as honorable, and he lays down rules for the regulation of those who sustain this relation; but there are no rules for the regulation of those who live in adultery and fornication. God cannot regulate these relations, because they are criminal: he can only forbid them. So if the relation of slavery was sinful, God could not give laws to regulate it as he has done, but could only forbid it. When Paul was under an arrest, and accused of the Jews, he appealed to Cæsar, which shows not only the rightfulness of Cæsar's authority but that it was the highest. So is the civil authority the highest authority now, and Bishop Andrew must submit to the laws of Georgia, and can be held accountable to and be judged by this Conference only so far as is reconcilable to the laws of the State in which he lives.

2. I am to show that the resolution is contrary to the Discipline of the Church. The general rule forbids buying and selling; but Bishop Andrew has neither bought nor sold, and therefore has not violated this rule. If any part of the Discipline is violated by Bishop Andrew's connection with slavery, it must be the 10th section, which has been provided expressly for the regulation of travelling preachers in their connection with slavery. This rule does not forbid travelling preachers becoming slaveholders; it provides for it, and only holds them responsible to emancipate their slaves when and where it is practicable. But has it been proved that it is practicable in Georgia? This cannot be pretended, and until this is proved, the Bishop stands justified by the Discipline of the Church?

But Bishop Andrew is not a slaveholder, in the strict sense of the term. A pious lady gave him a slave by will, for the purpose of being sent to Liberia, if she would consent to go, and she refused; and of course she fell upon his hands. The will gave him no power to send her without her consent, and of course he could only let her remain. But he does not claim her as his property, he derives no benefit from her labor, and she is perfectly at liberty to leave him and go to a free State at any time. Is this being a slaveholder in a wicked sense? Is this a violation of the Discipline?

The next case is that of a little boy which was willed to his former wife by her mother. This can not constitute him a slaveholder, because he does not wish to hold the boy as a slave; he is willing he should be free at any moment, and will give up all claim to him any moment he can be assured that he will be provided for.

There is one other case; bishop Andrew has married a wife that was a slaveholder, and by such marriage he has become connected with sla-

very. We are commanded to judge not according to appearances, but to judge righteous judgment. What was there improper in his conduct when he married that woman? It cannot be maintained that there was anything wrong in it, unless it be wrong to hold slaves under any circumstances, in which case the charge lies against the Discipline of the church, and not against the bishop. It cannot be denied that the woman had a right to hold those slaves before he married her, according to the law of the church; her slaveholding could therefore have been no legal or moral disqualification in her; and it cannot be denied that the bishop had a right to choose his own companion, provided he did not choose one disqualified by some rule of discipline or morals, and she was not thus disqualified, for the law of the church justified her connection with slavery. We are plain common sense men at the South, we admit, but we do not deny the slave the right of choosing his own wife, and it appears to us that a bishop should have as much right of self-judgment in the case as a slave. But the doctrine of expediency is plead against the bishop, which will be met by showing,

3. That the proposed measure will be evil in its results. The ground upon which the expediency of the measure is made to rest, is that the bishop is not acceptable to some of the conferences. But is a want of acceptability a reason for deposing a bishop, without reference to the ground of such want of acceptability? Suppose a bishop be every thing that he should be, and is still unacceptable because the people are wrong, is he to be put out of office on account of the errors of the people? Is the Church of Jesus Christ to be governed by a corrupt public sentiment, so far as to depose officers who are good and pure, because they are not acceptable? But it is argued that a bishop is a mere officer, and like an editor or a book agent, may be put out of office when he does not answer the design of the office, without reference to the cause of his failure. This to me is a new doctrine, it has been got up to meet this case. I never heard of it before. A simple reference to the ordination service will show the absurdity of such a position. The following question is proposed to the candidate, and the following answer required.

Quest. "Are you persuaded you are truly called to this ministration according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ?"

Ans. "I am so persuaded."

Is an editor or a book agent made to say that he believes that he is called to his office according to the will of Christ? And if he is called to this ministration according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, can you dismiss him from it without impeaching his moral character?

Again, the ordaining bishop laying his hands upon the head of the candidate, is required to say, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God."

If there is any meaning in this, it means that men are called to the office by God, called by the Holy Ghost, and yet after thus inducting a man into office, by which you say he is called of God, you propose to dismiss him without an impeachment of his moral character. God calls him and you admit it, and yet you say he shall not obey the call. Before you dismiss a bishop in this way, you had better blot the ordination service out of the book of discipline.

The measure you propose cannot fail to destroy the episcopacy. No man fit for the office could be induced to take it, if it be held by such a tenure, and the office would die away from the church. [In this Mr. Dunwoody misjudged of human nature. Such is the love of place, of office, and of power, that men will accept of them on any terms. If they do not exactly suit, they know that the tendency of power is to accumulation, and they hope to improve the office by a wise administration, of which they always think themselves capable. REPORTER.] I would not accept of the office on such terms, were I ever so well qualified for it. Again, the measure cannot fail to make dreadful disorder and confusion in the church. It is said some of the conferences will not receive him. What confusion is here? No one denies that he is a good man, no one pretends that he is not in every way qualified for the office; no one pretends that he has violated any rule of the church, and yet you are about to displace him because some of the conferences will not receive him. If he has violated any rule, or does any thing, morally wrong, why do you not impeach him, which will put an end to the controversy so far as the constitutionality of the proceeding is concerned? And if he has not violated any rule, nor done anything morally wrong, why will not the conferences receive him? The reason is, if we are to believe them, they are afraid of this dreadful secession. The brethren from New England said they were upon a great volcano which was ready to explode beneath their feet. I would ask, then, did not they create that volcano? Did not they first kindle and blow up its fires? I am sure we of the South did not.

But after you shall have put Bishop Andrew down, what will you do? Who will take his place? Will you then elect an abolition bishop, and send him to the South to preside over us? Will he be received there? To say nothing about the church, would he not be in danger from the resentment of the populace, under the circumstances, who belong to no church, and who care for no religion?

Our brother should know that an abolitionist cannot be received in the South, any more than a slaveholder can in the North. You may say you will not send the South an abolition bishop in the place of Bishop Andrew, but a conservative. We do not know how to understand these brethren: they declare that they love the South; in words they are all honey, but in action they are against us. It looks to me like the old doctrine of decrees. Men used to preach that God had decreed all things; that he had made a decree of election and a decree of reprobation, and then would preach God's universal love. You say you love us, you believe we are good men, that you wish us to enjoy equal rights and privileges; but when you act, you act upon the principle of the old reprobation decree, and then you preach to us again universal love and union. We cannot understand you.

But what is done, cannot be undone, he is married, and his wife, though a very worthy woman, owns slaves. He cannot free them if he would. She cannot free them if she would, for the law will not allow of it. Bishop Andrew can do nothing to disconnect himself with slavery, unless he leaves his wife. Would you have him do that? That would be a violation of the law of God and man, for which you would justly depose him, and yet you are about to depose him for being thus connected with slavery. It looks to me like old fashioned Calvinism, which represents God as decreeing all things, and then commanding men to obey. You have already commanded Harding to do what he cannot do. These men are not the authors of slavery, nor can they control it. Their fathers introduced it, and you punish them for it. This is contrary to the word of God, which says, "Ye shall have no more occasion to use this proverb in Israel, the father's have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." Suppose the wife, in whom is the legal title to slaves, will not consent to their emancipation, is the husband therefore to be deposed from the ministry?

Twenty-four years ago abolition was not heard of, and then the General Conference said that a slaveholder should hold no official station in the Church, where the laws will admit of emancipation. My mind was then made up, for I was then led to examine the subject, which I had not before done. The North said it was a great moral evil, and must be put out of the Church. I then saw that if it was admitted that it is a moral evil, we should have no ground to stand upon, for we could not defend a moral evil, or defend ourselves in the practice of moral evil. I brought Scripture to prove my views, that it is not a moral evil in all cases; but they would have their own way, law or no law, Gospel or no Gospel.

But to come back to the point, who will you send to take the place of Bishop Andrew, when you shall have put him down? None of the friends of Bishop Andrew will consent to take his place. Send another man, and the conference will say he shall not preside. If you say he shall preside, you may as well say a slaveholder shall preside, and save the trouble of putting Bishop Andrew out, as to say an abolitionist shall preside in a slaveholding Conference. You have got the power to act because you have the majority. Remember that Solomon made the yoke heavy, but his son said he would make it heavier, taking the counsel of the young men, and a revolt was the result. And what followed? They grew weaker and weaker, until they were carried away into captivity by their enemies. If you keep within the restrictive rules, we have nothing to fear, but if you push this matter, as you propose, we cannot be responsible for the results in the South. The South is already awake and alarmed. I have just received a letter from my Presiding Elder, in which he says, that in view of the accounts he receives of the proceedings of the General Conference, he expects I will be on my way home to attend a Southern conference before his letter would reach me. Pass that resolution, and the people will say, withdraw from such a body, or you shall not preach to our slaves. Pass that resolution, and you force us from you, and separate us at one blow from the Church, and with us, a large portion of the country, and not less than 450,000 members. You say by the passage of that resolution that we shall never have a slaveholding bishop. And do you suppose that we will, that we can submit to such disfranchisement and oppression? I assure you that you will rend the Church if you persist in this measure. There is, there will be, there can be no union upon such terms. The union of husband and wife is the most happy relation, but even this connection, if it can be preserved only by living in a perpetual quarrel, had better be dissolved; and so with the union of North and South, if we must live in perpetual strife, as on the present occasion, we had better separate at once. If you keep us down, you must remember that "oppression maketh a wise man mad." You may think we are too foolish, not wise enough to get mad at oppression. Well you will drive the South to take ground on Conference rights, on their reserved rights. You have done it already, for you have laid your hands upon our Bishop. If the civil power had no right to interfere with the priests, so the priests have no right to interfere with the civil power. This is what you are now doing. The State of Georgia has made laws for the regulation of slavery, and you are now attempting to regulate it contrary to the laws and provisions of the State. You have got up an excitement,

and you see that the result is strife and division. Now we know that religion produces peace, but your abolition excitement produces strife and disunion; it cannot therefore be religion. We in the South preach to the slaves, "Obey your masters," and labor to get both converted. You can safely say to Bishop Andrew not to preside in the North, for you have Scripture for that. We read, "If the spirit of the ruler rise up against thee, leave not thy place."

We are brought to see a dreadful state of the Church, and what the end will be, I cannot tell. It may be sent to purify us, and I wish I could hope that it will end as well as that. I cannot give up my hope of the M. E. Church, so long as it is written, "on this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

You have the majority, and can pass such resolutions as you please, but I exhort you by the efforts that are being made in the South for the salvation of both the master and the slave, to a spirit of moderation. We are a minority, you can vote us down, but then our principles define our position, from which we cannot be driven.

Bishop Soule next addressed the Conference. He said he had no solicitude concerning when he should speak; he only wanted a calm time, and he believed the present was as calm a time as would present itself. He desired also that the committee of publication would let him see his speech before it was given to the public, if it was to be reported and published with the other speeches.

I am perfectly calm in my feelings, I was never more calm in my life; and I trust it is not the calm that precedes a storm; nor is it the calm of indifference, but the calm that arises from settled conviction and fixed principles. If I could believe with the brother from Pittsburgh, that we have got all the light on this subject that we can have, or if I believed with the brother from New England, that no man's vote could be changed, I do not say I would not speak, for though I do not wish to speak for honor, there are periods in the life of every man who holds important trust, when his influence must not be neutralized by the laws of association. I involve no man by what I say on this occasion. The South are not involved by what I may say; the North are not involved by what I say; I ask no man to be responsible for my opinions. Brethren have manifested great solicitude to vote; this would do, brethren, if a vote would settle the difficulty. Is it not possible that, notwithstanding all the time that has been devoted to the subject, and all the enlarged views that have been called forth, action at this moment would be altogether premature? Society has more to fear, has suffered more in all ages, from the passions of men, than from calm and sober investigation,

and patient inquiry, I have nothing to fear from calm and patient investigation, but I have every thing to fear from the rage of excited passions.

The sound of an alarm trumpet may go forth from within these walls — the sound may be borne on the wings of the wind, and carried by the whirlwind over the length and breadth of these lands; but when the sound of alarm shall have died away, when the elements that may have been startled from their slumber and put in motion, shall have settled into the calmness of inquiry, a voice will be heard, wafted on the counter breeze; and though that voice be not heard amid the thunder, the earthquake and the whirlwind, it will be heard as the storm dies away, and the first sound that will fall upon the ear of awakened reason, will be, "*What is the cause?*" It will then be the province of reason and sober reflection to furnish the answer. The answer is now before us, if we will but see and consider it; it is spread out before us in a plain statement of facts by Bishop Andrew himself. I have not heard any brother from the North or from the South, (and I listened to all that has been said,) intimate that there are any other facts having any bearing on the merits of the case before you. I take it for granted then that we have the entire facts before us, and that these facts are the cause of all the alarm that has spread, or may spread through our beloved Zion and over the continent.

Will the Conference indulge me while I read an extract from the address of your general superintendents at your last session?

"The experience of more than half a century, since the organization of our ecclesiastical body, will afford us many important lights and landmarks pointing out what is the safest and most prudent policy to be pursued in our onward course as regards African slavery in these states, and especially in our own religious community. This very interesting period of our history is distinguished by several characteristic features, having a special claim to our consideration at the present time, particularly in view of the unusual excitement which now prevails on the subject, not only in the different Christian Churches, but also in the civil body. And first, our general rule on slavery, which forms a part of the constitution of the Church, has stood from the beginning unchanged, as testamentary of our sentiments on the principle of slavery and the slave trade. And in this we differ in no respect from the sentiments of our venerable founder, or from those of the wisest and most distinguished statesmen and civilians of our own and other enlightened and Christian countries. Secondly, in all the enactments of the Church relating to slavery, a due and respectful regard has been had to the laws of the

States, never requiring emancipation in contravention of the civil authority, or where the laws of the States would not allow the liberated slave to enjoy his freedom. Thirdly, the simply holding or owning slaves, without regard to circumstance, has at no period of the existence of the Church subjected the master to excommunication. Fourthly, rules have been made from time to time, regulating the sale and purchase and holding of slaves, with reference to the different laws of the States, where slavery is tolerated; which upon the experience of the great difficulties of administering them, and the unhappy consequences both to masters and servants, have been as often changed or repealed.

“These important facts, which form prominent parts of our past history as a Church, may very properly lead us to inquire for that course of action in future which may be best calculated to preserve the peace and unity of the whole body, promote the greatest happiness of the slave population, and advance generally, in the slaveholding community of our country, the humane and hallowing influence of our holy religion. We cannot withhold from you, at this eventful period, the solemn conviction of our minds, that no new ecclesiastical legislation on the subject of slavery at this time will have a tendency to accomplish these most desirable objects. And we are fully persuaded that as a body of Christian ministers we shall accomplish the greatest good by directing our individual and united efforts, in the spirit of the first teachers of Christianity, to bring both master and servant under the sanctifying influence of the principles of that Gospel which teaches the duties of every relation, and enforces the faithful discharge of them by the strongest conceivable motives. Do we aim at the amelioration of the condition of the slave? How can we so effectually accomplish this, in our calling as ministers of the Gospel of Christ, as by employing our whole influence to bring both him and his master to a saving knowledge of the grace of God, and to a practical observance of those relative duties so clearly prescribed in the writings of the inspired apostles?

“Permit us to add, that although we enter not into the political contentions of the day, neither interfere with civil legislation, nor with the administration of the laws, we cannot but feel a deep interest in whatever affects the peace, prosperity and happiness of our beloved country. The union of these states, the perpetuity of the bonds of our national confederation, the reciprocal confidence of the different members of the great civil compact;—in a word, the *well being* of the community of which we are members, should never cease to lie near our hearts, and for which we should offer up our sincere and most ardent prayers to the Almighty Ruler of the universe.

"But can we, as ministers of the Gospel, and servants of a Master 'whose kingdom is not of this world,' promote these important objects in any way so truly and permanently as by pursuing the course just pointed out. Can we, at this eventful crisis, render a better service to our country than by laying aside all interference with relations authorized and established by the civil laws, and applying ourselves wholly and faithfully to what specially appertains to our 'high and holy calling;' to teach and enforce the moral obligations of the Gospel, in application to all the duties growing out of the different relations in society? By a diligent devotion to this evangelical employment, with a humble and steadfast reliance upon the aid of divine influence, the number of 'believing masters' and servants may be constantly increased, the kindest sentiments and affections cultivated, domestic burdens lightened, mutual confidence cherished, and the peace and happiness of society be promoted. While, on the other hand, if past history affords us any correct rules of judgment, there is much cause to fear that the influence of our sacred office, if employed in interference with the relation itself, and consequently with the civil institutions of the country, will rather tend to prevent than to accomplish these desirable ends."

I have read this extract, that the members who were not in the last General Conference, and all who hear me this day, that have not seen the address itself, may understand what ground I and my colleagues occupy on the subject under discussion. I desire that this document may stand recorded, with my name attached to it, till I sleep in death; I desire to leave it as a legacy to my children and my children's children even to the latest generation; and could I do it, I would leave it as a legacy to the Church, as a rule of action on this subject when I shall be no more. I want no man to write my epitaph: I will write it myself. I want no man to write and publish my biography; I will do that myself, so far as I think it necessary for the benefit of posterity, and of importance to the Church of God.

On reading the life of my venerable colleague, who has gone from earth to heaven since the last General Conference, I regretted that this document, as it stood connected with his name, did not appear in that memoir. I thank the author of the History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, I refer to Dr. Bangs, for having preserved this document in that history. I met it in Europe, and I was glad to meet it there. I never wish my name detached from it: no *never*! When this was written, your superintendents believed they expressed the sentiments of the pastoral address of the General Conference at its previous session, and we think so still. Now, I have only to say, before I proceed to the main

object of my remarks, that I desire that no undue influence may be exerted from the peculiar relation which I sustain to the church. Sympathy may have too great an influence when it is brought to bear upon great principles. My sympathies have been roused during this discussion, but it has been done by a condition of my suffering brethren of the colored race; and a view of their condition never fails to do it. No matter where I meet the man of color, whether in the South or in the North, with the amount of liberty he enjoys, the sympathies of my nature are all awake for him. Could I restore bleeding Africa to freedom, to independence, to all the rights of man, I would most freely do it; but this I have not the power to do: you have not the power to do it. And if I cannot burst the bands of the colored race, I will not strengthen them. If I cannot extend to him all the good I desire to, it is no reason why I should withhold from him the few benefits I have it in my power to bestow upon him.

But I cannot withhold the remark, that with the mental and physical labors of the relation that I sustain to the church, I could not have been sustained, I could never have supported myself, had I not settled down upon principles which were, in my view, as strong as truth, and as changeless as the throne of God. It has been by a constant recurrence to these great principles, that I have been able to sustain myself in the discharge of what I supposed to be my duties, growing out of my relation to the church, and not merely as an officer of this Conference. These principles have sustained me in the city, and in the desert waste; they have sustained me in the North, and they have been my support in the South; they have upheld me in the quarters of the black man, and in the huts of the red man. Shake me from these principles, and I am done: I shall then have no support equal to the burden and must sink.

But what are these great principles? Is it that the Methodist Episcopal Church depends upon me? No, sir: her interests rest not upon my shoulders; she can do much better without me, than I can without her. But the point is this: if the superintendents are to be regarded only as the officers of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, and consequently, as officers of the M. E. Church, liable to be deposed at will, by a simple majority of this body, without the form of trial, there being no obligation resting upon the Conference to assign a cause wherefore,—I say, if this doctrine be a correct one all I have to say hereafter will be powerless, and must fall to the ground. But I must be allowed to say, strange as it may seem, although I have had the honor and the privilege of being a member of the General Conference of the M. E. Church ever since its organization, — though I was a mem-

ber, of the convention of ministers that organized it, I have heard this doctrine advanced for the first time, either in the General Conference, in an annual conference, or among the wide-spread membership of the Church. Of course, it struck me as a novelty. I desire to understand my landmarks as a Bishop of the M. E. Church—not the Bishop of the General Conference—not the Bishop of any annual conference, but the Bishop of the M. E. Church. I thought that the constitution and laws of the Church, that her statutes and regulations, the many solemn vows of ordination, and the parchment which I hold under the signature of the departed dead,—I thought that these defined my landmarks, and prescribed my duty. In my operations, I have acted under the impression that these were my directions; and it affords me great consolation this day to stand, at least in the judgment of this body, to which I hold myself responsible, and before which, I will always be ready to answer to any charge that may be preferred against me,—I say, it affords me great gratification to have stood for twenty years acquitted in the discharge of the high trust committed to my hands; and I here desire to offer my acknowledgments to the Episcopal committee, for the report they have brought to this body, and to the Conference, for their cordial acceptance of that report. I say, I do it with sentiments of gratitude; and it is the more cordial to me, in view of what may yet be to come. Now, sir whether this Conference is to sustain the position on which I have acted, or not, they are very soon to decide, by a vote upon the resolution before them; I mean, they are to settle the question, whether it is the right of this body, and whether they have the power to depose a Bishop of the M. E. Church; whether they have a right to depose my colleague, to depose me, without a form of trial. Without specification of wrong, and by almost universal acclamation over this whole house, that Bishop Andrew has been unblameable in his Christian character, without blame in his ministerial vocation: that he has discharged his official duties faithfully, with usefulness and universal acceptability and good faith; with this declaration before the church, the community, and the world, will this Conference occupy the position, that they have power to depose Bishop Andrew, without a form of trial, without charge, and without being once called upon to answer for himself in the premises? What he did say was voluntary on his part.

Well, brethren, I had supposed that special provision had been made for the trial of a Bishop. The constitution has provided, that no preacher, no person shall be deprived of the right of trial, according to the forms of discipline, and of the right of an appeal; but if I understand

the doctrine advocated, it is that you may depose a Bishop without form of trial; you may depose him without any obligation to show cause, and therefore he is the only minister in your church who has not an appeal. It seems to me that the church has made special provision for the trial of a Bishop, for the reason that a Bishop has no appeal. You will remember that this whole thing is going out to appear before the world, as well as the church. I wish to know my landmarks, to find out where I stand; for I do not hesitate to say, that if my standing, and the relation in which I have been placed to the M. E. Church, under my solemn vows of ordination, is to stand on the voice of a simple majority of this body, without the form of trial, and without an obligation to show me the cause why I am deposed, I have some doubt whether there is a man on this floor who would be willing to stand in my place.

You see, brethren, that the passage of that resolution will not affect Bishop Andrew alone. I do not involve my colleagues: I do not speak for them: I do not know how they may view the subject; but I say, the passage of that resolution will not affect Bishop Andrew alone! Brethren will at once perceive the peculiar situation in which I am placed. Here are my brethren from Ohio and from other conferences. We have been together in great harmony and peace; there has been great union of spirit every where; but I said at the beginning, there are periods in the history of every man occupying any important station in society, when his individual character and influence cannot be neutralized by the laws of association. You must unmoor me from my anchorage on the basis of this book, [the Discipline;] you must unsettle me from the principles, my settled and fixed principles; but from those I cannot be shaken by any influences on my right hand or on my left: neither the zeal of youth, nor the experience of hoary age shall move me from my principles. Convince me that I am wrong, and I yield. And here it may be necessary to make a remark in relation to what I have before said, for it seems to have been misunderstood. I said, you may immolate me, but you cannot immolate me on a Southern altar; you cannot immolate me on a Northern altar; I can be immolated only upon the altar of the union of the M. E. Church. What do I mean by the union of the church? I mean, call it compact, call it compromise, call it constitutional discipline, call it what you please,—I mean, on the doctrines and provisions of this book, and I consider this the bond of union to the M. E. Church.

I hold that the General Conference of the M. E. Church has an indisputable power and right to arraign at her tribunal every Bishop: to find

them guilty of any offence with which they are charged, and to expel them. I am always ready to appear before this body, to answer any charge that may be lodged against me; I recognize fully, the right of the General Conference to call me to an account. But not for myself, not for those men on my right hand and on my left, [the other Bishops,] but for your sakes and for the church of God, of which you are members and ministers, let me ask you, let me entreat you, not to rush upon the resolution which is now before you. Posterity will review our actions; history will record them; and whatever we may do here will be spread out before the world, and the eyes of friends and enemies will be fixed upon it. In this view, I was not surprised to hear brethren say, "Pause brethren: I beseech you to pause!" nor was I surprised to see men of mind and thought approach the subject with fear and trembling. Brethren apprehend that there are great difficulties connected with this subject: they apprehend that fearful consequences are to take place, on whichever side of the question they shall move. If the resolution be passed, the South consider that they shall be involved in irretrievable ruin. Refuse to pass the resolution, and the North consider the consequences perilous to them.

Permit me to say that I have some personal acquaintance both with the North and South; I think I have been able to cast an impartial look over these two great departments of the church. I may err in judgment, but I apprehend that the difficulties may not be as insurmountable as brethren have apprehended them to be. I know that some of my brethren of the North are involved in such a way that I cannot see how they can compromise this question. If I understand them, it involves, in their view, a principle. I will compromise with no man when a principle is involved in the compromise. What is that principle? The men that avow it are doubtless as honest as any men on this floor; I know them: in them there is no guile. But what is the principle? It was advanced by my worthy brother Cass the other day. He cannot compromise the principle, and you must convince him that it is wrong, before he can yield it. The principle is, that slavery under all circumstances is a sin against God.

Mr. Cass explained, by saying that he did not say that slavery was a *sin against God* under all circumstances, but that it was a *moral evil*.

Bishop Soule proceeded by saying, I am glad to be corrected. That is not brother Cass's principle then; his principle is, that it is a moral evil, but not a sin under all circumstances. I am glad to hear this statement, for it greatly increases my hope that we shall have a compromise. Now, notwithstanding brethren have thought, and with perfect sincer-

ity, that they were ready to act on the resolution, and have been ready for some days, I cannot but believe that action at this time might be premature. I will offer one or two reasons why I think the Conference is not prepared for action on the resolution.

We have received a large number of petitions and memorials on the subject of slavery, and have referred them to a large and judicious committee, to examine and report thereon. That committee has not yet reported to this body, and when that committee shall report on a subject so intimately connected with the resolution, is it not reasonable to suppose we may have some additional light? You will know the number of petitioners in each annual conference. You will know the relative proportion of these petitioners to the whole number of the M. E. Church within these conferences. You will then know the whole number of petitioners, and the proportion they bear to the whole community of Methodists. So far as I was able to learn the contents of the petitions in the hands of your committee, they relate to subjects not local in their character, which do not concern the petitioners merely, but which concern every member of the M. E. Church, North, East, South, and West, and the report of your committee may throw much light on the subject.

I beg leave to suggest that the views of the great body of Methodists cannot be fully represented here on the special issue involved in the resolution, and if this be a subject in which all the ministers and members are equally interested, is it safe to proceed in so important a matter without a more certain and full understanding of the views of the the whole Church, in her ministry and membership, than we can have from the views of individual members or from the memorials? Can the delegation from New York tell us what are the views of the great body of Methodists within the bounds of the New York Conference? While we have been occupied with this case, it has been spread before the whole Church; there has been sufficient time for the people to speak, and yet we have had no memorials from this city where we are sitting. Why have we not received memorials from Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston? We have had no memorials on the special issue of the resolution. The people have had time to speak since the case was opened, and yet there has been no expression on their part as I have heard. Under such circumstances will you hesitate to suspend action on the subject involved in the resolution? I beg the brethren to go a little further. I will go with my brethren to Ohio. I am a resident in Ohio. I have some acquaintance in that State, both with the preachers and membership. These delegates may have a more extensive acquaintance, and doubtless can say more, — but I should not dare

to say on the floor of this Conference, that the proposed act would meet the approbation of the great body of the ministry and membership in Ohio;—I dare not say that. It is however sufficient to say that the Church has not known the subject, and of course has expressed no opinion on the subject. I settle down then upon the supposition, as the basis of my position, that we have not, and cannot have the views of our ministers and people generally, so fully expressed as to render it safe for us to act on so important a question with reference to what we may judge to be their wishes.

It appears to me that the adoption of that resolution will depose Bishop Andrew without the form of a trial—it looks so to me. I do not believe such a course safe for our community; I do not believe it safe for you; I will leave myself out of the question. What then shall be done? What can be done? This question wakes up the attention of every member of the Conference. Can it be possible that the M. E. Church is in such a state of excitement,—in such a state of, I was about to say revolution, that we dare not send out a simple statement of facts to the annual conferences and churches every where through our community, and wave all further action on this subject till another General Conference?

I said almost at the commencement of these remarks, that I am not afraid of the deliberations of men, if they will but coolly deliberate; but I am afraid of the passions of men when they are excited and act without deliberation. Can it be possible that the simple fact that Bishop Andrew holds an office as a bishop of the M. E. Church four years longer, with a full, clear, and simple statement of the facts in the case, spread out before the enlightened body of this great Methodist community—I ask, is it possible that this will produce an earthquake? I am not prepared to believe it.

Permit me to make one more suggestion. The providence of God directs the whirlwind and the storm; clouds and darkness may be round about him, but justice and judgement are the habitation of his throne. Let us be careful that we do not lift a human arm to impede the work of providence. God may remove this difficulty out of the way; it may be so ordered by divine Providence, that Bishop Andrew may pass away from these scenes of trouble and excited passions, long before another General Conference shall assemble. It is the solemn conviction of my mind, that you had better stay further action on the subject, and send out, officially, a plain and simple statement of the facts to all your conferences and societies, and let it be read everywhere, and then we may have a further expression of opinion at the next

General Conference, upon which we can safely act. You must know what I have already stated, that with the principles I have advanced, and the avowal I have made of my opinions, of my own sentiments on the subject, it will not be Bishop Andrew alone that your vote will affect. In so saying, I implicate neither of my colleagues on my right hand or my left; but I say the decision you are about to make will not, *cannot affect Bishop Andrew alone*. The resolution says, that the Conference can, by a simple majority, depose a Bishop without a form of trial, and without being under obligation to render a reason or show cause. It is then not Bishop Andrew alone, but the principle that is involved; it involves the office: it involves the charge: it involves the relation.

I have given to you what in my sober and deliberate judgement, is the best and safest for you to pursue. I thank the Conference for the attention they have given me. I thank the spectators for their attention. I very well know, I can but know, that the position I occupy in relation to the principles involved, may seal my fate. I say I know that the decision of the Conference is about to make may seal my fate. Let me go: but I pray you, do not let go of sound principles; hold to your principles; and with these remarks, I submit the whole to your decision under God's direction.

Afternoon Session.—Bishop Soule in the chair.

After religious exercises, it was inquired if the other Bishops wished to speak in compliance with the invitation of the Conference, as the Conference had adjourned at the conclusion of Bishop Soule's remarks.

Bishops Hedding and Waugh said they had no remarks which they desired to make at that time but they wished to reserve the right extended to them, if they should at some future time desire to improve it.

Dr. Durbin then took the floor, and spoke in favor of the resolution. He said he regretted that he was compelled to make his remarks during an afternoon session, but he must speak then, or he doubted whether he should be able to speak at all. My ill health, said the speaker, as well as other circumstances, would have led me to desire the opportunity of speaking in the morning; but if the Conference will give me their attention, I will make the best I can of my circumstances. I am sorry to believe that some of the speakers are under the influence of a practice which prevails in Congress: that of making speeches to affect the people elsewhere. My object is to endeavor to remove some of the erroneous impressions, which it appears to me, have been made during the discussion.

It was remarked by Judge Longstreet, that in our legislation we are on our way to Rome, and that during every step in the progress of Roman corruption, there was a pure minority that raised the standard of opposition. A majority went with the church in her departure from the simplicity of the truth, but a minority was always opposed to the introduction of Popish corruptions. For myself, I can see no force in this remark; I can see no application to be made of it, unless it be designed to illustrate the principle, that the legislation of the M. E. Church on the subject of slavery, is analogous to the corrupt action of the primitive church, by which it run into the corruptions of Popery, and that the minority in this Conference represent that pure minority that opposed the corruptions of Popery. But will the brethren say that in this age, and amid the institutions of this country, it is safer to be governed by the judgement of the minority, than by the majority? If he will not say this, his argument falls to the ground. I wish we stood before God, and before the world, as pure on every other point, as we do in view of our legislation against slavery.

But there is another important point on which I think our action has been greatly misrepresented. We are represented as arraigning the laws of sovereign states, and as sitting in judgement upon them, to confirm or annul them by our ecclesiastical decrees. It has been even affirmed, that by our vote in the Harding case, we condemned and set at naught the laws of the State. This we deny. I did not vote upon any such principle: nor do I believe a person can be found, voting with the majority in that case, who voted upon any such principle. There is but one legal point involved in all these cases; and that is not, is the law right or wrong, nor is it shall the law be regarded as binding upon us, or may it be broken: as good citizens, we hold ourselves bound to obey the laws of the State. The only point is this: Is it or is it not practicable, in view of the laws of the State, for the ministers to emancipate their slaves? If we say, that in view of the law, it is not practicable to emancipate, we do not judge and condemn the law; if we say that it is practicable, we do not condemn the law, but only judge the case by the law. I voted in the Baltimore case on the ground that it was practicable for Mr. Harding to emancipate his slaves; and in so doing, I did not vote to sustain the usage of the Baltimore Conference, as has been charged, but to sustain the great law of Methodism; but had the law of the State rendered emancipation impracticable, my vote would have been different; for in that case the law of Methodism would not have required emancipation.

There is another point which I feel constrained to notice. We are told by our Southern brethren, to agree among ourselves on the subject of slavery, before we undertake to fix a standard for them. There are differences among us; there may be fifty different opinions among the Northern men on this floor, respecting the best method of getting rid of slavery; but on the simple question, Shall we, or shall we not have a slaveholding Bishop? we are all of one heart and one mind. This is the simple and the only question now before the Conference.

But, sir, are we alone in our differences of opinion? Strange statements have met my ears, as brethren from the South have discussed the subject. Are there no differences of opinion manifest in the positions occupied by Longstreet, Dunwody, Winans and Crowder? Longstreet, denied that slavery is a moral evil; Winans admitted that it is a great evil, and thought we did the South injustice in calling them pro-slavery; Dunwody labored to justify slavery from the Bible; while Crowder said slavery was a great evil, and contended that the only point in dispute is, what is the best method of getting rid of it: he maintained that the best way is, to preach the gospel; he affirmed that Methodism will cure it if we will let it alone. But will Methodism cure anything but an evil? Let those who advocate slavery from the Bible answer. Brethren should not undertake to press us with our differences of opinion, until they can show a better agreement among themselves. I differ as much from the abolitionists as I do from the pro-slavery men; I am a conservative. The ground we occupy is, that slavery is a great evil; our brethren in the South are involved in this evil, and let us oppress them no more.

I have no sympathy with that spirit of modern abolitionism that condemns the whole South as robbers, thieves and man-stealers; I can regard their bitter words of denunciation only as words from the bottomless pit. I know all about slavery. I have been in the South, seen it for myself, and I am ready to do battle against abolition to the last. I never will while the civil institutions in the South remain what they are, say that slavery is a sin under all circumstances. Such a position would break down the church in the South. Methodism could not live in the South, were not Methodists allowed, under some circumstances, to hold slaves. Where are the Quakers in the South, who made slaveholding a disqualification for membership? Their house is left unto them desolate. You may find here and there a Quaker, but they are few; they have no societies, and they do not and cannot flourish. So would it be with the Methodists, were they to take the same ground on the subject of slavery, and cut off all slaveholders

from their communion. Methodism has always been a child of Providence, and has made the best of those dispensations which it has had no power to prevent or control. The ground occupied by the church from the beginning is, that slavery is a great evil; but in its flexible character, it has yielded so far as has been necessary to secure its own success and usefulness, and no further. This is the principle upon which we now act; we go upon the supposition that it is not necessary to connect slavery with the Episcopacy to secure the ends of Methodism in the South.

We do not wish or design to impute any wrong to Bishop Andrew as a man, a Christian, or as a minister, but we go upon the principle that we are to yield to slavery no further than is absolutely necessary. We have heretofore yielded to it as far as necessity required, and now the simple question is, Is it necessary to rivet slavery upon the North by connecting it with the Episcopacy? I think not and therefore I go against it.

I cannot suppress my disposition to make a remark or two on the Bible question of slavery. The brother from South Carolina [Mr. Dunwody] quoted scripture to prove that slavery is a moral evil, and also to prove that it is not a moral evil. Some may think they see a contradiction in this, but I am inclined to the opinion that the two positions can be reconciled. But I must say that when I have the Scriptures quoted to sustain slavery, I start back with a kind of indescribable horror. The case of Onesimus has been appealed to, as a case of slavery clearly defined in this Bible language and justified by the Christian principles. Now let me say, I do not believe that Onesimus was a slave. Of him Paul said to Philemon, — If he oweth the aught, put that on mine account! Can a chattel, a piece of property owe? It is impossible, and as St. Paul supposed Onesimus might owe Philemon, he could not have supposed him to have been his slave. Again Paul says, of the reception of Onesimus by Philemon, — “Not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved.” This shows that the apostle did not send him back as a slave, as had been supposed.

The law which God gave on Sinai has been appealed to in proof that man may own his fellow man. Because houses, servants and oxen are all classed together in one command, it is inferred that they may all alike be property, but it should be remembered that the wife, sons and daughters are also in the same manner classed with servants and oxen; why not then infer that our wives and children are property. As to bondmen and bondwomen of which we read in the Bible, they were persons held to service in some way, but they were not slaves in the

sense of American slavery. It is then clear that there was some sort of slavery or servitude among the Jews, but it is equally clear that it was not of the nature of American slavery.

If I have understood brethren, it has been contended that the North has been crowding the South more and more on the subject of slavery; to use their own language, have been putting on the screws tighter and tighter. Sir, the facts in the case are directly the reverse of this, as the history of the church shows. The highest ground was taken against slavery at the very organization of the church, and from that day to this the North has been yielding to the South; not that the North is less opposed to slavery, but from the increasing necessities of the South. To say nothing of the vehement denunciations of slavery by Mr. Wesley, it has been admitted that the effects of Dr. Coke's anti-slavery has not yet wholly subsided in the South. In 1784 unconditional emancipation was required as a term of membership. The moral sense of the preachers then triumphed over expediency, and they enacted stronger rules than they could enforce, of which six months experience convinced them, for at the expiration of that period the rule was suspended. Slavery was too strong for them, and they were compelled to yield. I do not say our fathers did wrong in suspending that rule. I believe it ought to have been suspended, though abolitionists so bitterly condemn the measure now. From that time to this, the North has been yielding. From being *more* than ever convinced of the great evil of slavery, they become as *much* as ever convinced. In 1796 slavery was a *crying* evil; in 1804 it was softened down to an evil, and in 1808 all that related to slaveholding among private members was stricken out. I might advert to other points in proof of my position that the church has gradually made concessions to the necessities of the slaveholding states, but I have said enough on this point. I do not complain of it, for I believe necessity demanded it. There is one circumstance, however, connected with this fact which I must not fail to mention. It is this, Methodism commenced in the South, and when it was mostly there, when the South had the power in their own hands, the strongest measures were taken against slavery, and as Methodism increased in the North, and threw the majority into the hands of the northern portion of the church, the rules on the subject of slavery have been softened down and open opposition to slavery has been less violent and more under the control of a sound expediency. How far from the real facts in the case is it then, that the North is putting the screws upon the South. But whether the North has been putting the screws on the South, or the South been putting the screws upon the North, some policy has brought about

a state of things under which the South say they stand firm upon the discipline of the church. They declare that all they ask is to enjoy the right which the discipline gives them as it now is.

I must be permitted at this point to inquire what there is in the circumstances of the South, rendering it necessary to connect slavery with episcopacy? Will they derive good enough from such connection to balance our evil? This is the simple question after all, Does necessity require a slaveholding bishop in the South? Our Episcopacy is common to the whole church, to the North as well as the South, and its connection with slavery will be construed into a sanction of slavery, beyond what can be inferred from the connection of the ministry with slavery whose fields of labor are confined to slaveholding sections of the country. This will fearfully disturb the church in the North, while I can see no necessity for the measure in the South. Is it, can it be contended that there is a necessity in the South for a bishop to hold slaves in order to do his work there?

I repeat it, this is the real question; and if you can prove to me that the necessity in the South for a slaveholding bishop is greater than the necessity of the general church to keep the Episcopacy disconnected from slavery,—if you will give me two votes, I will vote for a slaveholding bishop with both hands.

Our southern brethren, in some of their speeches, have grounded their claim to a slaveholding bishop upon the fact that the Episcopacy is not for the South or for the North, but for the whole Church. The premise is true, and it is this very fact that renders the subject of a slaveholding bishop uncontrollable at the North.

I have been sometimes grieved and sometimes amused to hear our Southern brethren argue that the evil in the North is not so great as it is represented to be. They fancy the people in the North are not so much opposed to slavery after all, because they, as slaveholding ministers, are so kindly received, and treated, and listened to, when they preach, with so much interest, and even with tears. They may deceive themselves by making an appointment to preach a pro-slavery gospel; let them give out that they will preach in vindication of slavery, and they will hear no applause ring through the assembly; they will see no tears of sympathy glistening in the gladdening eye. Why are they listened to when they preach, with applause and tears? Because they have been taught that our southern brethren are not pro-slavery in principle and feeling, because they believe them connected with it from necessity, regarding it as an evil, and because the many revivals under the labors of slaveholding ministers has taught them slavery is not necessa-

rily sinful under all circumstances. Our southern brethren are not sinners; this we have already said in the Discipline, and I am ready to repeat it as often as necessary; I do not believe that they are sinners because they are slaveholders, under all circumstances of the case. But that is not the question. The question is, shall slavery be connected with the episcopacy? Sir, I was impressed with your remarks this morning on the subject of the excitement, and of that calmness with which we should meet the issue. Sir, it has come upon us unexpectedly; none of us were looking for it. When I was in Washington on my way to this Conference, a gentleman remarked that Bishop Andrew had married a lady who was possessed of slaves, and had thereby become a slaveholder. The report as it spread did not come like the booming of cannon, that announces a nation's joy, a nation's victory, or a nation's glory. "Is it true?" was the only expression heard, and that in a half suppressed tone, but which was yet so deep as to be clearly the offspring of the deepest solicitude. Yet the feeling rose slower and stronger than feeling ever rose before. I can never believe Bishop Andrew dreamed of such consequences. As I came from Washington, "Is it true?" was the inquiry every where made in tones and with looks that evinced the deepest anxiety. No man spoke of consequences; no man said, Drive him out of the Church. "Is it true?" was the only inquiry every where heard. Some have called it a firebrand, but I never saw men more cool, more self-respectful, and more respectful to the cause of all this difficulty. When a young man made an exciting speech, I said to Dr. Capers, The battle has come. Every man appeared to feel more than he expressed. A committee of compromise was called for and appointed, and all eyes were turned to it, as the shipwreck mariner looks for the light, but no light came.

I will now make a few remarks on the power of the General Conference over the case, and I am constrained to say, that if these remarks could have been made before your remarks this morning, they would have produced more effect than they now will. But high, sir, as you are in office and strong as were your arguments, I am constrained from a sense of duty to say, "Come, and let us reason together."

Does the office exist among us of divine right? If it be maintained that the office exists of divine right, it changes the whole economy of our Church, and I have not an argument to offer. But, sir, I have never viewed it in that point of light. The ordination service has been appealed to in proof that a bishop is something more than an officer. Our simple question settles this point; is that ordination service, as used by us, to be understood in the high church sense, as it is used and

understood by the church of England from whence it was borrowed? If not there is no force in the argument drawn from it, and it must follow that a bishop is no more than an officer under the control of the General Conference. I designed to say something on the ground of expediency, but that word has been so tortured and abused, that I will call it discretion. On the 25th page of the History of the Discipline, we read, as quoted by the author from the general minutes of 1775, "We thought it best to become an episcopal church, making the episcopal office elective, and the elected superintendent, or bishop, amenable to the body of ministers." This certainly settles the question that the office was made elective, and if so the conference must have power to displace a bishop by simply going into an election, and electing another man in his place, whenever they shall see fit to do it. But the bishops were made amenable to the body of the ministers. When a bishop is made amenable to the General Conference, it not only gives the Conference power to expel him, but it includes all that is below; they can therefore depose him, censure him, or dismiss him from office for want of adaptation to it, without touching his Christian and ministerial character. I do not understand the resolution as some of my brethren profess to understand it; I do not understand its design or effect is to depose Bishop Andrew, yet, be that as it may, I must vote for it, making my protest in the face of the world, that I do not vote to depose the bishop, but that it is my opinion that he ought to desist from the exercise of his episcopal office until he is disconnected from slavery. If I am pressed to a vote, and I can be pressed to it only by the South, by their refusing to yield what they can yield, — I say if I am pressed to a vote, I must vote in favor of the resolution, even if it does depose the bishop; yet I will insist that such is not my view of its meaning and force. I will appeal to the common sense of the world; I will appeal to the author's language — to Dr. Webster's Dictionary, and by that I will prove that in voting for that resolution, I do not vote to depose Bishop Andrew. Any way to get at the truth, for the truth is what we want, and let us search it out. We shall not be likely to come at it by an appeal to the passions, nor let us think of finding it upon the principle upon which men sometimes get married in a hurry, and then repent at leisure.

But I have not done with the constitutional question. But, sir, I do not desire, I would not disturb the sleep of the departed, or call them from their honored graves to testify on this floor as some have done. I know not what they would say or do, were they here with us amid our present strife and warfare, from which they have so happily es-

caped ; but I may be permitted to read what they wrote when they were yet with us. Rev. John Dickens, the most intimate friend of Bishop Asbury, in a pamphlet published in 1792, with the sanction of the General Conference, thus answered a question proposed by Mr. Hammett, on this very point :— “ Now who ever said the superiority of the bishops was by virtue of a separate ordination ? If this gave them their superiority, how came they to be removable by the Conference ? We all know that Mr. Asbury derived his official power from the Conference, and therefore his office is at their disposal. Mr. Asbury was thus chosen by the Conference, *both before and after he was ordained a bishop* ; and he is still considered as the person of their choice by being responsible to the Conference, who have power to remove him, and to fill his place with another, if they see it necessary. And as he is *liable every year to be removed, he may be considered as their annual choice.* ”

Bishop Emery states that this may be considered as expressing the views of Bishop Asbury in relation to the true and original character of Methodist episcopacy ; and he gives it the sanction of his own authority by quoting and using it in the 12th section of the Defence of our Fathers.

I have now given my views of the constitutional question, and I trust I have sustained my opinion by good authority ; and I have only to regret that it differs from the opinion you expressed this morning. I know, sir, that my judgment thrown into the opposite scale with yours, is but as a feather against a thousand pounds ; but still it is my judgment, and like other men, I prefer my own. But while I contend that the Conference has power to dismiss a Bishop from office, or to take away his office without affecting his ministerial character, I am the last man that would sanction the exercise of that power without just cause. Should any man attempt to lay aside one of these Bishops without cause, who would not resist the attempt ? You would then find us all shoulder to shoulder, and man, to man, to protect the object of the attack. But, sir, clear as I am in my convictions of the truth of my position, I must confess that, in view of your remarks this morning, it is with deep feeling that I utter my sentiments. Under the influence of those remarks, I felt that for a moment, a dimness came upon my mental vision ; the feelings that were in that moment inspired, were not calculated to give power to my reason, or greater independence to my judgement. When I remember that you said that the passage of that resolution would not affect Bishop Andrew alone : that we were given distinctly to understand, that the passage of that resolution might carry you down with it, and perhaps carry down all the Bishops, it has a

has a tendency to silence my tongue ; but it cannot, it shall not darken my understanding or pollute my conscience.

What remains is, to make an application of the doctrine I have labored to establish to the resolution before us, called the substitute. We have been repeatedly told that it is in fact a proposition to depose Bishop Andrew. Sir, we do not so regard it. I do not so regard it ; the venerable man who moved it does not so regard it : I am sure he does not. I know him well, and know his mind on this question. Let us read the resolution, and hear it speak for itself.

“Whereas, The Discipline of our church forbids the doing of anything calculated to destroy our general superintendency : and whereas, Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery, by marriage and otherwise, and this act having drawn after it circumstances which, in the estimation of the General Conference, will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office as general superintendent, if not in some places entirely prevent it, therefore,

Resolved, That it is the sense of this General Conference, that he desist from the exercise of his office so long as this impediment remains.”

Now, sir, this action is not proposed without cause. The reason is stated in the preamble, and is based upon undeniable facts. But what does the resolution propose ? Is it expulsion ? Is it deposition ? Is it suspension ? No, sir, it is none of these ; the resolution does not propose to lay Bishop Andrew under any legal disability ; it proposes merely to express the sense of this Conference in regard to what Bishop Andrew ought to do in view of the circumstances in which he has placed himself ; and having made the solemn expression of the opinion of the Conference, it leaves Bishop Andrew to act as his sense of duty shall direct. If I am pressed to vote in the present aspect of the case, I must vote for the resolution, and shall throw myself upon the popular and powerful bearings of conscience to be sustained. If it be the sense of the Conference, that Bishop Andrew should desist from the exercise of his office, is there a man on the other side of the house who will say that we ought not to pass the resolution ? [Some one answered, “ Yes, ”] Some one responded, “ yes ; ” but I cannot take his word as an expression of the feelings of the South ; there is too much magnanimity there to allow of such an answer. Will they say we ought not to do what we believe it to be our solemn duty to do ? We have opened our bosoms, we have thrown aside our shields, and bid you make your mark upon our hearts : and after all this, we think we ought to pass that resolution ; and can you compel us to withhold an honest

expression of our opinions? I fear there is a mean feeling somewhere: a feeling that finds motives for action in objects below the elevated moral sentiments that should govern a Christian.

We have been threatened with injunctions and law-suits about the property. Injunctions may be laid upon nine hundred presses but no injunction can be laid on one honest conscience. That Book Concern was once burned down, and I grieved over its destruction; but gladly would I see it destroyed again: gladly would I welcome the first flash of light, that should proclaim the destruction of the buildings, presses, types, paper, plates, and all, if it could place the Church back where it was only six months ago. But all are not insensible to threats of injunctions: some have already been alarmed, and one brother said, don't press the matter. Now, I have no doubt such an injunction might be got; but let me say, no such injunction can be sustained. I do not know but there are judges and lawyers wicked enough to rejoice over our division and strife, and it may please the world: we can hardly tell how far depravity may go. Milton, in his *Paradise Lost*, represents Satan as rising above his peers from his floundering hell, gratified with a reign in the infernal prison more than with the servitude of heaven. But let me repeat, that no such injunction can be sustained: the Book Concern is not a corporation, and cannot be held responsible as such in law. The only thing that can be done in law is this: if injustice is done to the character and interests of Bishop Andrew, he can prosecute the voters individually for his personal damage.

[Here the speaker made some remarks on the doctrine of general tendencies, in which he introduced as an illustration, his right to satisfaction, should some one slay his first born, which he applied to the case in point; but the reporter's notes being taken with a pencil, have become so defaced on this very page, as to render them almost entirely illegible. To supply the defect, reference was had to the official report, when it was found that it contains no trace of the paragraph. As the paragraph contains some nice points in morals, on which great minds differ, the reporter prefers to omit it wholly, rather than to risk a transposition of his impaired notes. Why the official report contains no allusion to the paragraph he knows not.]

I wish, sir, to call attention to a proposition which was made in the Committee of Pacification by a brother from the South. The proposition was, in part, "that Bishop Andrew should not be required to preside in any conference in which his connection with slavery would render him unacceptable." Now, sir, here is clear acknowledgement that there is difficulty in the connection of Bishop Andrew with slavery; the

proposition contains a verbal admission that the Bishop has rendered himself unacceptable to numbers of the annual conferences. If the Conference will keep this admission in mind, we will compare it with that part of the constitution which forbids our doing away the general superintendency. It must be wrong for one of the Bishops to do what, if done by them all, would destroy the general character of our superintendency; so, on the other hand, it must be wrong for this Conference to do for one of the Bishops, what would destroy the character of our superintendency if done for them all. Suppose you were to become an abolitionist, so as to exclude you from the South: another may do something which will render it necessary to confine his labors to the West. Now, if we are to comply with the proposition to let Bishop Andrew remain in the South, to accommodate his connection with slavery, on the same principle, you have a right to become an abolitionist, and demand that we allow you to remain in the North: and another may be confined to the West, and our general superintendency would be broken up. It is clear then, that as the General Conference cannot do away the general superintendency, they cannot allow one of the Bishops to do what would necessarily do it away, if all were to act upon the same principle. I would not confine this principle to a connection with slavery, which disqualifies a man for the North and East, I would apply it to any thing which might disqualify a man for any part of the work. Let it be announced, sir, that you have declared yourself an abolitionist, and you will find a paper there, stronger than the one that has been lodged against Bishop Andrew.

Sir, it gives me pain to come to a direct vote on this question; I am free to declare that I would avoid it if I could. I have looked long for some way to escape it. I have hoped that our Southern brethren would consent to some terms on which the matter might be settled. I still hope they will. Let but the intimation be given, that the Bishop will disconnect himself from slavery as soon as convenient, within any reasonable time: let but the South say to us, if you will postpone further proceedings in the case, we will take care of it, and see that the church shall not suffer further damage, the announcement would be received as a message from heaven, and we would trust your word and your religion that it should be done, and ask no questions when, how, or where you would deal with the case.

I must refer to Bishop Andrew's own document, in which he makes a statement of his own case. It does appear to me that it is clear from his own showing, that he knew that slaveholding was not compatible with the Episcopal office. He states distinctly, that he was unwilling

to become the owner of the slaves. Why was he unwilling to become their owner, had he been a member of the Georgia Conference? I think he would not; and if his unwillingness to become the owner of those slaves, grew out of the fact that he was a Bishop, there must have existed in his mind a perception of the incompatibility of slaveholding with the Episcopacy. I cannot make myself believe that the Bishop looked to a permanent connection of slavery with the Episcopacy. I wish to separate all I say from Bishop Andrew as a man and a Christian minister, and only look to the general consequences of his connection with slavery. I will here say that I am not particular as to the manner of disposing of the case, so that it be disposed of in some way. I am willing to do anything so far as manner is concerned, but I can *never* consent to a permanent connection of slavery with the Episcopacy.

I will close my remarks by saying that the proposition which was made by Brother Early, from Virginia, a few days since, to send the matter to the churches, would satisfy me, if it were properly matured and agreed to. If I understood you this morning, you distinctly recommended this plan. I am inclined to the opinion, that the North would agree to such a disposition of the question, if the South would meet us upon this ground. I will therefore submit it as a distinct proposition for consideration.

“Resolved, That the case of Bishop Andrew be referred to the Church: and that the judgement of the next General Conference be deemed, and taken to be the voice of the Church, whether Bishop Andrew shall continue to exercise his functions as a general superintendent in the M. E. Church, while he sustains his relation to slavery as stated in his communication to the Conference as reported by the Committee on Episcopacy.”

I have only to add, that if our Southern brethren will give us a pledge that they will abide by the judgment of the next General Conference, under the above resolution, it is all that I as an individual will ask.

Dr. Smith of Virginia made an explanation concerning his threatening the conference with a protest that should burn with shame upon their cheeks. He said he would take that expression back. He said it had been stated that the South dare not secede. He said neither party wished to secede, and as for the South, he would pledge for them that they would not secede. They had no intention of it; if they were separated, they had got to cut them off. Dr. Smith said he felt himself called upon to make a remark in explanation of his response to Dr. Durbin when that brother was speaking. Dr. Durbin proposed the

question, "If we think we ought to pass that resolution will our brethren from the South say they would not have us do it?" and I answered, "yes," and the brother commented upon my answer in a manner which demands an explanation of my views. I do not believe that because a man thinks himself right, that he is therefore right. Nor am I at liberty to consent to the action of another, because he thinks it his duty to act thus, when I think his action is wrong. However honest our northern brethren may be, and however strangely they may be moved to this act by a sense of duty, I believe them wrong, and duty forbids me to consent to the act, and requires me to protest against it to the last. Suppose a man thought it his duty to kill me — for the passage of that resolution will be death to the South — and he puts the question to me, "If I honestly believe it to be my duty to kill you, will you say that I ought not to do it?" I answer, to be sure I will say you ought not to kill me. I think I ought to live, and of course I think your impressions of duty are all false, and that you ought not to execute them.

Dr. Durbin replied that he thought the case would be better illustrated by the sentiments of the Jewish high priest who said that it was expedient that one should die for the people, and not that the whole nation perish.

Dr. Capers and Judge Longstreet made a few remarks, which were not understood amid the noise that began to prevail, after which the conference adjourned.

Thursday, May 30.

Bishop Hedding in the chair.

Prayer by Mr. Upham of Providence Conference. He prayed for the abolition of slavery.

The committee on correspondence reported an address to the Wesleyan Conference of England, which was read and recommitted with a view to some trifling alterations which were desired.

The committee on the Book Concern reported finally. The principal items of the report were the following. Against the establishment of a depository in Texas, and recommending that books sent to Texas be put at sixty per cent discount. Recommending a reduction of the price of books generally as far as the safety of the concern will warrant. Recommending the establishment of a Sunday School proper at Cincinnati

Recommended to strike out of the Discipline the words, "General Book Steward." But the most important thing recommended is, the reorganization of the Book Committee in New-York. Instead of making the stationed preachers in the city of New-York that committee, the report proposes to make the committee consist of the editors and of six travelling preachers, to be appointed by the conferences to which they belong as follows:— Two from New-York, two from Philadelphia, and two from New-Jersey conferences. The same regulation is recommended in relation to the Cincinnati concern, and the committee is to be elected by the Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana conferences, each two members. These committees are to have power to suspend an editor, until a meeting of the bishops can be called, and a majority of the bishops may suspend until the next General Conference. The salaries of the agents and editors to be fixed by a committee of the General Conference, to report to the Conference for their approval or amendment. Lays upon the table one day. After the above report was read the order of the day was taken up, which was the case of Bishop Andrew.

Dr. Capers obtained the floor and commenced a speech in opposition to the resolution. The speaker said, Mr. President, there is one aspect of the subject which in my view is very important; the church is *one*, and I cannot see how it can be otherwise than *one*. Every word that has been uttered calculated to divide us in feeling, and effect, has given me great pain. Different views and feelings have been entertained at different times and on different subjects, and when we have interchanged thoughts, and these differences have come in contact, they have been felt, but we have desired to keep whole, and thus far the love of union has been sufficient to hold us together. I am sure that if I could do any thing to promote the union of the whole church, heaven knows I would do it. And however different my views may be on the subject of slavery, it can be no cause why I should unnecessarily afflict my brother's feelings; I am just as willing he should enjoy his own views as I am to enjoy my own.

The church is one, the ministry is one, and the Episcopacy is a part of that ministry. I rejoice in the unity of Methodism, that we have one doctrine, and one discipline for the North and the South and the East and the West. But I must say that I have been surprised to hear brethren talk and argue as though the position of Bishop Andrew was an extension of slavery over the North. How can it be pretended that slavery is extended by Bishop Andrew's connection with it? Or how is it riveted upon the North, as some say? How is the evil of slavery the least increased by Bishop Andrew? The Bishop never sought to become a

slaveholder, does not now desire to be a slaveholder, for the sake of slavery; he became a slaveholder in the first instance, by the death of a pious old lady in Augusta, and all the North, are involved in sin! There is no more slavery than before, no more slaveholders, and it is no worse for the slaves than it was before. It is not possible for me to see how slavery will be extended over the North by not passing that resolution. I do not wish to extend slavery; God knows I do not wish to extend slavery over the North or over the South, or any where else. I wish every slave free, but what does it avail to wish? It will not do to make the good wishes of slaveholders or the abolitionists the ground of action. It is not possible to see how a slaveholding bishop can involve the whole church, more than any other slaveholding minister. The law of the church does recognize slaveholding in the ministry as right, at least in certain cases, and does the fact that a man is a bishop alter the essential moral character of the act? A member may be a slaveholder; a deacon may be a slaveholder, an elder may be a slaveholder, and a presiding elder may be a slaveholder, and what more is a bishop? Spell the word and see. A bishop is nothing but an elder in ministerial order. In this sir I am as high as you. Are you a minister? So am I. Are you an elder? So am I; and you are no more than an elder as a minister. It is contended that a bishop, as such, is but an officer of this General Conference, to be removed at pleasure. I would ask those who advocate this doctrine, if the officer of the Conference is more sacred than the minister of the Conference, or minister of Jesus Christ, so that the one may be permitted to hold slaves, and the North will wash their hands and say, am I not pure, when, if the other touches slavery, the whole church is polluted? Our ministry is one, and is as much the ministry of the whole church as the episcopacy is the episcopacy of the whole church. It is not possible for me to see how the North can be involved in the pollution of slavery by Bishop Andrew's connection with it, in any sense in which they are not already involved throughout the length and breadth of the whole church. We all have the same rights in the South as in the North, and in the North as in the South; we are one church, and every member has all the rights of a member in any portion of the church. A member of the South, slaveholder as he may be, may take his ticket and come to the North and claim his seat in the love-feast and at the sacrament, and you can not constitutionally debar him. The ministry is one, and the same hands that ordained northern preachers ordained slaveholders, and if the touch of slavery by the episcopacy is so polluting, the whole church is already stained and defiled. To attempt to keep clear from slavery on the part

of the North, under our present organization, is vain; it cannot be done only by cutting up the ministry and then scattering the membership to the four winds of heaven. Under the present constitution, you cannot reject a brother who may come to you with his note of recommendation in his hand. The church is one, one in the General Conference, one in the ministry, and one in the membership. God never put but one heart in a man, but Methodism is all heart.

Much has been said about the aggression of the South on the North. It has also been said that the strongest measures were enacted against slavery when the South had the majority. But it so happens that words change in their meaning and force. What is meant by the South? What was the South in 1784 when the strongest measure was adopted? And what was the North then. Where did the men of the North and of the South dwell in those days? Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia had no existence then. In 1786 Georgia and South Carolina constituted the Southern extremity. What is now principally called the South had no existence then; Maryland and Virginia were the centre of the world, so far as methodism was concerned. I appeal to my aged brethren if any thing was known of North and South in the Methodism of those days; these terms came up in latter days, and I shall be thankful to God if they prove not to be evil days.

What were the laws of the States where Methodism then flourished? The bright morning of New England Methodism had not then dawned. There were then no laws against emancipation, and hence, Methodism could act against slavery without being disloyal. Methodism never was disloyal till now, never sought to break up civil government. I am sorry North and South ever came into existence, and I am for the South only to be loyal; my conscience will not allow me to war upon the civil government. Much has been said about the rule of 1784, which required unconditional emancipation as a term of membership. But at the end of six months it was suspended, and this has been counted as a great concession to the South. But the truth is, there was then no North or South. Good ministers love both the souls and bodies of men, but they love their souls first, and when they found that the law they had enacted for the good of their bodies, injured their souls, they suspended it in six months. Still there was yet no North nor South in the church; there was then no Book Room, no Discipline. I was born before there was any Discipline. The first General Conference was held in a sale loft. We had then no such spacious galleries to accommodate spectators; we did not have to close the doors to prevent being thronged; the civilian was not there; we were not a great people then, and

the world knew not and cared not what we did. In 1800, the compromise was made in which it has been said concessions were made on both sides. Compromise is a dangerous word, and it describes a transaction by which no good was ever obtained from God or man. It has also been remarked, that the Conference ordered addresses to be drawn up for the gradual emancipation of the slaves, to be laid before the legislatures, and the abandonment of this object was another great concession to the South. I never saw but one of those documents, called addresses to the legislatures, and I regret that I did not preserve a copy of it, but I did not; I can however assure you, that Scott never wrote or published a more violent, incendiary and disloyal document. Some of the preachers would not circulate them because they believed they would only do harm. Among these was George Dorr. He said he could not and he would not be the bearer of such a communication to the people of his charge. He preached in Charleston, and the paper found its way there and cost him much trouble. They came in some way to brother Harpers Store. Brother Harper did not intend to circulate them, but one got out in some way and produced a great excitement. The people charged the bringing of the papers into town on poor Dorr who had done all he could to oppose them. I saw the mob as I was going down town collected around Harpers, and inquired what was going on, and understood they were going to duck the preacher, who had been preaching in the old blue meeting house. But it so happened that Dorr was not at Harpers. The excitement arose so high, and the feeling became so deep and general, that it became necessary to expurgate all that related to slavery from the copies of the Discipline that were sent to South Carolina. Methodism was introduced into South Carolina under the most favorable circumstances; there were no prejudices against them as was the case in New England and some other sections; there were no rival sects in every town and neighborhood to oppose, and the people were every where friendly and anxious to hear them, and by prudent management they might have taken the whole country. Yet such was the bad influence of their opposition to slavery that they soon got to be looked upon worse than Mormons are now looked upon. My father and myself were censured because I joined them. It was considered a deeper reproach on the family than it would now be should my son join the Mormons.

It has been urged that Mr. Wesley was an abolitionist, and that he went to the full extent of modern abolition against slavery. If it be so, he also went equally as strong against republicanism. But what did he oppose in his opposition to slavery and republicanism? Did he op-

pose the acknowledged civil authorities? Never. When we became a nation, and our independence was acknowledged, he ceased his opposition to our republicanism. We have the best reason for believing that Mr. Wesley never intended such an opposition to slavery as would be an interference with the civil authorities. Dr. Durbin referred to Mr. Hammett. This man was the particular friend of Mr. Wesley, with whom he used to correspond most freely. He had a large bundle of letters from Mr. Wesley, which, at his death, was consigned to my father. He made Mr. Wesley believe that he was a good man, slaveholder as he was known to be. Hammett was the intimate friend of Mr. Wesley, and my father was the intimate friend of Mr. Hammett, and though it is not characteristic of me to weave in much of self, I must be allowed to tell what I know on this subject. What then do I know? I know that in all the correspondence between them, Mr. Wesley never said one word to Mr. Hammett against his being a slaveholder, and Mr. Hammett never said one word to my father on the subject. But how do I know all this? I know it from a table conversation I had with my father on the subject of this dreadful abolition. I shall never forget the rebuke I received from my father in that conversation. In the conversation I remarked in opposition to slavery, that as soon as I should become of age, I was determined to go to a free state. My father replied, and his look as he spake was a rebuke to me, "that is unworthy of a lad who owes as much to his father as you do. And then he added that Mr. Hammett was a good man and he was a slaveholder, and that he had often assured him that Mr. Wesley had no objection to the members of the church holding slaves in that State.

Dr. Durbin said that a bishop is constituted by his election and not by his ordination; if not so we must take the high church sense of ordination. Now let me say, I cannot understand why this consequence follows of a bishop any more than of a priest. Was I made an elder by election or by ordination? I answer both were necessary. When I was elected, I was elected to the office, but when I was ordained, I was inducted into the office to which I had been elected. My election was necessary in order to render it consistent, according to conventional rules, that I should be ordained, but it was not until I was ordained that I became possessed of the powers and functions of the office. It is clear that an elder is constituted by ordination. If then because a bishop is constituted by ordination, and not simply by election, we must take the high church sense of ordination, does it not follow that because an elder is constituted by ordination, we must take the high church sense of ordination with reference to elders. It ap-

pears to me that men must be hard pushed for arguments when they take such ground. But may we not, without adopting the high church views of ordination, suppose there may be some special grace in ordination. If to escape high church views we must conclude that there is no special grace attending ordination, why do we keep up the form, and why does the ordaining bishop, laying his hands upon the head of the candidate, say, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a bishop in the church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands." Note, the office was not committed to the candidate when he was elected, but is "*now committed unto thee*;" it was not committed to him by his election, but is committed "*by the imposition of our hands*."

But I am opposed to the resolution because it is, in my view, adverse to a sober view of the soundest principles of the M. E. Church. The constitution contains the faith, morals, and governing power of the church. The articles of religion contain the faith of the church; the general rules contain the morals of the church; and the restrictive rules contain the governing power of the church, and these three branches constitute the constitution. It will be seen on examination, that this conference can have no power to set aside the great objects of church organization, but only to adopt such measures as are in accordance with the principles of the constitution, that may appear calculated to secure the end. We, acting under that constitution, can have no power to violate any of the principles of the constitution. The first great principle recognized by the constitution, is the supremacy of the Scriptures:

Art. V. "The Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, &c."

Next to the Scriptures, the constitution of the M. E. Church admits the supremacy of the civil government:

Art. XXIII. "The president, the congress, the general assemblies the governors and the councils of state, as the delegates of the people, are the rulers of the United States of America, &c."

You will see the force of this. I thank Dr. Durbin for saying that it is not the design of the majority to interfere with the civil law, and I hope you will be careful not to do what you do not design to do. He said every brother voted in the Baltimore case on the ground that the law of Maryland does admit of emancipation. Suppose the law does allow of emancipation, that the thing is practicable is altogether another matter. But the facts are, as they were spread before the conference, the law forbids emancipation, but public feeling is against the law so as to

enable men to violate it with impunity. Suppose the civil law says one thing, and popular feeling says another to the reverse of what the law says, which side ought the church to take? She is bound by her own constitution, by the twenty third article of her religion which she has published to the world as her standard; to rally around the law. I do not wish to prejudice the people against Methodism as was done in 1800, nor do I wish the conference to take a position out of which the abolitionists can make as much capital as they have out of the colored testimony resolution of 1840. It appears to me the conference should act in view of the state of things that is known to exist in Georgia. Suppose wrong exists in Georgia, will you undertake to control it, not by the laws of Georgia, by which the bishop must be governed, but by your own rules? This is making your laws paramount to the laws of Georgia, and in that you do not own the authority of Georgia as you have pledged to the public in your articles of religion, to do. Look at the subject in the light of the state of things that exists in Georgia. Suppose you pass that resolution, and then we return home; the bishop returns to Georgia deposed and we are called upon to tell why the bishop has been deposed. We state the facts by saying that "the bishop, as you know, had become connected with slavery, and the General Conference thought it would not do to have the episcopacy connected with slavery. We would not have you suppose that the General Conference believes that all slaveholders are necessarily sinners, they are very far from that, they do not believe that Bishop Andrew is a sinner, they believe him and acknowledged him to be a good man, a good minister, and a good bishop, but then the abolitionists make such a terrible noise about slavery that they insisted that if something was not done with Bishop Andrew, they would nearly or quite break up the church. What would be the reply in Georgia to this simple statement of the facts. The reply would be, "Is this your church? Is it governed by such considerations, and does it act upon such principles? If so, it is dangerous to our safety.

Can your General Conference, so under the influence of the abolitionists, stretch out its long arm and take hold of men in Georgia and try them, not by the laws of Georgia, but by the prejudices of New-Hampshire? When I shall go back, I cannot see how I can justify the act without placing myself in opposition to the civil law.

But my greatest and most mighty objection to the resolution is founded upon the interests of the slave. I have received information from the South of the excitement that is being kindled by your proceedings against Bishop Andrew, and that excitement, if not checked, will, you

may rest assured, desolate the church in those sections. When you shall have awakened a suspicion that we cannot be trusted, who will preach to the slaves? Who will then look after their perishing souls? We cannot then labor among them and be useful. Will the abolitionists go? Will those who support the resolution go, after they shall have voted down Bishop Andrew, the best advocate the colored man ever had in the South? I assure you, brethren, there are thousands of souls in the South, who live or die by your decision in this case. We have but just got over the trouble of former action against slavery on the part of the church. We have labored long and hard, and sweat and prayed for it, and just as we begun to see the door opened to us again; just as benighting prospects invite us to whightening fields of harvest, are we destined to have our prospects blasted for another half century, by the action of this Conference. In South Carolina our missions among the slaves do not lie in Methodist communities; there are but two Methodists in the state connected with the slave missions, but they are supported by men high in character and influence, congress men, and judges, and gentlemen of high standing are their supporters, and we have gained their confidence and have free access to their plantations, but pass that resolution and you will close the door against us. If you, brethren, think we are taking it too easy in our labors among the perishing slaves on those sunburnt plantations, and in those sickly rice-swamps, come down and take a through or two with us. We will welcome you to our cabins, and there is enough to be done, if you do not hedge up our way.

We come not to you to ask concession, but we come to you upon our knees and in tears to plead the cause of the perishing slave, and we beseech you for his sake as you regard the poor, as you pity the wrongs of the slave, as you love his soul, do not pass that resolution. I can never forget the first time when I went to preach to the slaves. Here the speaker became very much affected, and wept as he said, For the first sermon I ever preached to the suffering and despised slave, I should have been ducked by a number of men who collected for that purpose, but for a relative who had not religion enough to prevent his threatening what he would do to them if they touched me. I appeal to my aged colleague [Mr. Dunwody] who knows the state of things in South Carolina, for the truth of what I have said, and for the truth of the remark, when I say that if you pass that resolution you will put us back in our work and blast our prospects.

But brethren, we shall not abandon the slave, if you will throw difficulties in our way we shall overcome them as best we can; we go it through prisons, dungeons and even death. [The speaker's eyes stream-

ing with tears.] The first missionary that went upon those sickly plantations, died the first summer, but another took his place, as the number of laborers has increased, and the lost are being saved and brought home to God. Do not shut the door against us. Do not shut the door of hope to the slave. I forbid it! in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I forbid it! in the name of souls I forbid it! Do any thing to us, but do not take the gospel from the perishing slave.

Dr. Peck next obtained the floor. He said he had listened until he was tired. I have, said the speaker, listened with such fixed attention, and with such deep solicitude, that I have rendered myself incapable of discharging my other duties. We may sit here and listen to a discussion of the supposed consequences to follow the action, to the end of time for any thing that I see. But we have already spent too much time on the subject, and we are so near the time when we must adjourn, that further discussion looks to me like a positive evil. I have desired to say something, but I saw no possibility of being heard, if I should wait for all to get through who wish to speak; and now, after having got possession of the floor, I can hardly take the responsibility of consuming more time on the subject. If I enter upon the argument, I should probably speak the session out, and perhaps longer, but I will yield the floor if the vote can now be taken. I hear from all quarters murmurings of dissatisfaction, and it is approaching the spirit of a mob, and we shall have it if this discussion is not stopped. Bishop Andrew wishes the discussion closed and the question taken.

The previous question was then moved, and the question being taken by yeas and nays, and resulted as follows; yeas 98; nays 80. As it requires a vote of two thirds to sustain the call for the previous question, it was pronounced lost.

Bishop Hedding then rose and remarked that he would take the liberty to suggest to the conference, that it would be well not to have an afternoon session, that the bishops might consult and discuss, if possible, some plan of compromise. He would also ask, in case the conference saw fit to adopt the suggestion, that they would renew the appointment of a committee of compromise to consult with the bishops.

Dr. Durbin said he hoped no committee would be appointed; if a committee was appointed, it must have upon it Northern men and Southern men, and you put a Northern man on the committee, and he is a Northern man still; and you put a Southern man on it, and he is a Southern man still. He hoped it would be left to the bishops, and that if they wished to consult with any brother they would send for him. He thought as the bishops were better acquainted with the whole work,

North and South, East and West, they were the best committee that could be obtained. The question of a committee was dropped and on motion the further consideration of the whole subject was postponed until to-morrow morning.

The conference then proceeded to other business, and on motion, the report of the committee on the book concern was taken up. On motion so much of the report as recommended striking the words "or general book steward" from the discipline, where they occur, was adopted, after which the conference adjourned.

Friday, May. 31.

Bishop Soule suggested a change in the minutes, of the word "Church" for "Connection," where it occurred in, the minutes of the letter to the British Conference which was read yesterday.

The committee on Boundaries reported.

The committee on the Bible cause also reported, after which the order of the day was called for, it being the case of Bishop Andrew.

Bishop Waugh presented the result of the deliberations of the episcopal board in the following document:

SLAVERY, AND BISHOP ANDREW'S CASE.

TO THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH:

Rev. and dear Brethren—The undersigned respectfully and affectionately offer to your calm consideration the result of their consultation this afternoon, in regard to the unpleasant and very delicate question which has been so long and so earnestly debated before your body. They have, with the liveliest interest; watched the progress of the discussion, and have awaited its termination with the deepest solicitude.

As they have pored over this subject with anxious thought by day and by night, they have been more and more impressed with the difficulties connected therewith, and the disastrous results which, in their apprehension, are the almost inevitable consequence of present action on the question now pending before you. To the undersigned it is fully apparent that a decision thereon, whether affirmative or negative, will most extensively disturb the peace and harmony of that widely extended brotherhood which has so effectually operated for good in the United States of America and elsewhere, during the last sixty years, in the development of the system of active energy, of which union has always been a main element.

They have, with deep emotion, inquired, can any thing be done to avoid an evil so much deprecated by every friend of our common Methodism? Long and anxiously have they waited for a satisfactory answer to this inquiry, but they have paused in vain. At this painful crisis, they have unanimously concurred in the propriety of recommending the postponement of farther action in the case of Bishop Andrew, until the ensuing General Conference.

It does not enter into the design of the undersigned to argue the propriety of their recommendation; otherwise, strong and valid reasons might be adduced in its support. They cannot but think that if the embarrassment of Bishop Andrew should not cease before that time, the next General Conference, respecting the pastors, ministers and people of the several annual Conferences, after all the facts in the case shall have passed in review before them, will be better qualified than the present General Conference can be, to adjudicate the case wisely and dispassionately. Until the cessation of the embarrassment, or the expiration of the interval between the present and the ensuing General Conference, the undersigned believe that such a division of the work of the general superintendency might be made without any infraction of constitutional principles, as would fully employ Bishop Andrew in those sections of the church in which his presence and services would be welcome and cordial.

If the course pursued on this occasion by the undersigned be deemed a novel one, they persuade themselves that their justification, in view of all candid and peace loving persons, will be found in their strong desire to prevent disunion, and to promote harmony in the church.

Very respectfully and affectionately submitted.

JOSHUA SOULE,
ELIJAH HEDDING,
B. WAUGH,
THOS. A. MORRIS.

The document being read Mr. Collins moved its adoption.

Mr. Finley objected to the motion, he was not prepared for that motion without more time to reflect upon the communication from the bishops. Some one moved that it lay upon the table one day. Considerable confusion, several talking at once. Call for order. It was then moved that the document be printed and lie upon the table until to-morrow morning. Some one whose name the reporter did not hear amid the noise, opposed the motion. He said every body's mind was made up, and that no other business could be done until this question was settled.

Dr. Bangs opposed the postponement; he said he believed they could

do better by some other plan. He thought they had better refer it to a committee of nine, three from the South, three from the North, and three from the middle.

Mr. Slicer said it was not necessary to lay it over or to have another committee. They had had one committee of nine and they had done nothing, and now we have left it to the bishops, and comes from the North, South, East, and West as much as it could by being referred to a committee. The appointment of a committee might delay it three days. He thought it might be made the order of the day for three and a half o'clock this afternoon, in which case it should be printed immediately.

Mr. Hamline was in favor of a committee.

Mr. Collins said he had no need of a committee himself, but as others had called for one, he thought it was due to the bishops and all concerned to refer the document.

Mr. Winner suggested that it would be better to amend the motion to lay it on the table until to-morrow morning, by substituting half past four this afternoon.

Mr. Draper said that would defeat the object, as they wished to consult, and it would not give them time to meet by delegations.

Dr. Bangs said he would not speak if he was sure the matter was about to take the right direction. He was sorry to hear mention made of calling meetings by delegations. After such meetings should be held, they would be worse prepared than now to settle the question. But if they could have a committee, and come together like brethren, something might be done.

Mr. Bowen said he did not wish to be hurried to a conclusion. He said it had already been discussed long, but now it assumed a new aspect. He wished it might be referred to a committee consisting of one from each delegation.

Dr. Olin hoped a committee would be granted and time given to consult. He said they must be governed by the law of necessity, and it was necessary in order to know where the necessity lay, that they should understand how it would effect each section. He should be glad to hear from every section, if it was satisfactory, or if it was so far satisfactory as to prevent the greatest evil.

The vote being about to be taken, a division of the question was called for. The vote was then taken on the first member, which was to print the document, and was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. J. T. Peck said he never did speak when he believed the right thing would be done without. He was in favor of postponement, but

opposed to a committee. He said every committee they had had on the subject, involved it in greater darkness, and he had learned to look for nothing but darkness. We are worse off now than we were twenty-four hours ago. Hope is about dead in my heart, for I see nothing to inspire hope. The document before us presents one point, and one only, and that is, shall we of the North, give up all we have said and done? Others must act for themselves, but I cannot do it. I will stand by my principles, or by them I will fall.

Mr. Cartwright said he had learned never to despair when in difficulty. He wanted to examine the document and then he wanted to note upon it. He thought no further committees were necessary.

Mr. Peck of New Hampshire said he was willing it should be postponed. He was not afraid of light, and he thought there was not much danger of any greater darkness than they had already had. He said the change it gave to the subject would enable those who had already spoken, to speak again, which would give them the advantage of two speeches. He wished to speak on the subject as it had been heretofore presented, but before he could have an opportunity the subject was likely to be changed.

Mr. Dow from New Hampshire hoped the issue would not be changed until New England should be heard.

The vote was then taken and it was carried to postpone until to-morrow morning.

Dr. Durbin then moved to take up the order of the day, which was Mr. Finley's resolution on Bishop Andrew, called the substitute.

A. D. Peck of Black River Conference thought that would be indecorous after they had postponed the communication from the bishops on the same subject. The motion was withdrawn, but was immediately renewed by another person.

Mr. ——— opposed the motion. He said it was certainly disrespectful to the bishops under the circumstances of the case. On motion it was laid upon the table.

A motion was then made to reconsider the vote suspending the rule limiting speakers to fifteen minutes.

Mr. Randall of Maine opposed the motion. He said New England had been reproached and abused, and he wished to defend her. If our friends are prepared for it, — I mean our brake-water friends, [Baltimore deligation,] we are ready to take the vote and go home and meet the consequences.

We know what those consequences will be. You have the testimony on the floor in petitions and otherwise. If they were willing to hear

New England, after having discharged so many heavy guns at her, do not limit us to fifteen minutes, after you have assailed us by the two hours.

Mr. Early said he felt called upon to remind the brother that the motion did not come from the South.

The motion was withdrawn.

A communication was presented from a member of North Ohio Conference, and referred to the committee on Itinerancy.

The report of the committee on the Book Concern was then taken up. It will be recollected that this report proposes an entire reorganization of the Book Committee, by which the power will be principally taken from the New York Conference.

Dr. Bangs opposed the proposed change.

Mr. Bowen from the committee explained the views of the committee.

P. P. Sanford opposed the report as being revolutionary in its character.

Mr. Early of Virginia said he was surprised at the tenacity with which Dr. Bangs and Mr. Sanford clung to the present system. What is there, said the speaker, so alarmingly revolutionary in the report? Rearly, it proposes to take away the privilege of the preachers, stationed in the city of New York to constitute the Book Committee. Indeed! I did not know before that it was a privilege, but if it be so, I say let some one else enjoy it at least a part of the time. Brethren are honest in the opinion, that the present system creates a monopoly in New York. It is clear to my mind that so large a committee constituted in the manner that that committee now is, must tend to hinder the operations of the concern. It cannot fail to give some managing spirit a chance to effect personal objects. But one of the strongest objections to the present plan is, the committee, as now constituted, is not responsible to the General Conference. They in a great measure control the operations of the concern, and yet the General Conference has no control over them. Put an able and practical man at the head of that concern, and free it from the clogs of that committee, and it will be more efficient than it has ever been. It is a fact, brethren, that the concern is behind other establishments with less capital and less than half the advantages. Every preacher is a sub-treasurer for the concern, which gives it an advantage over every other establishment of the kind in the country, and yet in point of enterprise it is behind many.

Mr. ——— said the question was simply this, shall we make those who possess the power bear the responsibility. The Editors alone are responsible to the General Conference, but they have not the power to

say what shall and what shall not be published ; while the preachers stationed in New York, who possess this power are not responsible to the General Conference for the manner in which they exercise it. He did not suppose that it was necessary to impeach the preachers of New York in order to secure the desired change, but if the New York brethren insist that that must be the course, he for one was ready to go into the examination. The editors are our officers appointed by this conference, and yet they are controlled by the Book Committee, which is not appointed by, or responsible to the General Conference. I ask in the name of consistency, if it is right and proper that our officers should be controlled by men, whom we cannot control ?

Dr. Bond made a few remarks which were not distinctly heard.

Dr. Peck said he thought there was room for improvement. He gave a little account of the operations of the present system, and showed how things are done in the committee now.

It was then settled by vote, that the book editor should be responsible for all the works issued from the press, and that he shall have a veto power when works are recommended for publication.

An item in the report was then considered, which makes it the duty of annual conferences, when a preacher asks for a location, to inquire if he is indebted to the book concern, and if he is, to take measures to secure the debt before granting him a location.

Mr. P. Rice, of New York opposed it on the ground that under it, some preachers never could be located. He said a preacher would only have to get indebted beyond his power to pay or give security, and he cannot be located under the proposed rule. He thought the best and only thing that could be done would be not to allow a preacher to draw on the Book fund while he was indebted to the concern, and to apply the amount of his claim on the debt until it should be paid. After considerable talk the conference adjourned.

Afternoon Session. — The reporter was unable to attend, and employed Br. A. Moran to attend in his place, from whom he received the following minutes of proceedings.

A communication was received from Mr. Hunter concerning eight hundred dollars said to be bequeathed to the M. E. Church, and which the Executor refuses to pay over. It was referred to the delegation from the Arkansas Conference.

That portion of the Report of the Book committee which relates to the Richmond Christian Advocate was taken up. The report recommended the continuation of the publication. The report was adopted.

The report of the committee on the Book Concern, No. 6, was taken

up. This is the report which recommends a reorganization of the Book Committee, proposing a committee of six, from the New York, Philadelphia, and New Jersey Conferences, two each.

P. Rice, of New York, moved to strike out New York conference and insert Troy or some other conference. He said the people in New York were not willing to support a minister who should neglect his charge to attend the Book Committee. He said it was an important committee, and needed to be a learned one, and he hoped a learned conference would furnish them.

Mr. Early took the last speaker at his word and moved in earnest to amend by striking out New York and inserting Troy. The amendment was put and lost.

P. P. Sanford said he did not wish New York conference to have any power or responsibility in the matter. New York conference has no controversy over the Book Concern; her connection with it is a damage rather than an advantage. He was opposed to the proposed plan of constituting the committee, and if it prevailed, he hoped preachers from New Jersey would be placed on the committee instead of New-York. Some of them had said the concern would be safer in other hands. He thought the concern originated with the travelling preachers, and that it was their exclusive property. The report contemplated having four editors, and as the rule now stands, they might all be men not connected with the M. E. Church. He doubted the right of the General Conference to put the property into the hands of the four editors. He thought that editors should be travelling preachers, that it is unsafe, yea dangerous, to place any other than a travelling preacher there. When the day comes that the concern is put under the control of other persons not belonging to the travelling connection, you may note its downward tendencies. He wished the responsibility entirely taken from the New York conference.

Mr. Early thought a change in the Book Committee was desirable, and he hoped it would take place.

Dr. Winans was in favor of having six preachers on the committee, one from New York, and the others, one from each of the five nearest conferences.

Mr. Earley opposed on the ground that it would be difficult to get a committee together thus constituted.

Dr. Winans replied that his object was to divide the responsibility.

Mr. Slicer argued in favor of the proposed change; he thought the New York conference had too much control over the concern. He was in favor of revolution, it was the property and interest of all, and should

be more directly under the control of those who are accountable to the General Conference.

Without coming to any decision the conference adjourned.

Saturday, June 1.

The committee on the expenses of the delegates reported. The substance of this report was that they had deducted Patton's loss from the whole amount of the collections paid over, and that they desired that the delegates having funds in their hands, should be instructed to pay them over to the committee, in which case the funds would be equal to the expenses.

Mr. Pierce of Georgia, moved that the delegates from Georgia conference, after paying their own expenses, and paying fifty dollars to meet Patton's loss, be allowed to retain the balance and settle with their own conference. His reasons were, that the Georgia conference believed it unconstitutional to draw on the Book concern to pay the expenses of the delegates, as had been done, and that they had resolved not to do it, if there should be a deficiency in the collection. With this story they went to the people when they took up the collections, which was the reason why their collections were so large, and as the Conference did not adopt and act upon those views, they ought to return the balance to their own conference. The motion caused considerable discussion, in which Crandell, Pickering, Early, and others participated. It was finally adopted, and then the report was adopted as amended.

Mr. Slicer from the committee on Temperance reported. This report was on the returns of the vote of the annual conference, to whom had been submitted a proposal to change the general rule on Temperance, from its present form to its original form as it came from Mr. Wesley, which requires a three-fourths vote of all the annual conferences. The committee reported that the whole number of votes was 2501, of which 1861 was for the change; and 640 against it. This come short 16 votes of the requisite majority: So the rule is unchanged.

The committee also reported some resolutions in favor of Temperance.

Dr. Smith said he wished the Conference, at the present time, would settle the question whether it required three-fourths of the votes of each annual conference separately considered, or whether three-fourths of the aggregate vote of all the conferences collectively considered was sufficient. This was responded to by cries of vote, vote, from several

directions; whereupon the report was laid upon the table and made the order of the day for Tuesday next.

The order of the day now coming up, which was the communication from the Bishops on the case of Bishop Andrew,

Bishop Hedding rose and addressed the conference as follows:—

It has been my practice all my life, when I have made a mistake, to retract it as soon as possible. And it is with this view that I wish to withdraw my name from that paper. I signed it freely, without being persuaded to it by others, but I have since come into possession of facts which have changed my mind. I signed it,

1. With the hope that it would be a peace measure, but instead of that it appears likely to become a bone of contention.

2. I signed the paper with the hope that it would meet with a general approval of the body, but I have now no hope of that, and therefore I wish to withdraw my name. As it has not been acted upon by the conference, I suppose I have a right to withdraw my name, but if this is doubted, I will submit it to the conference to say whether I shall have the privilege of withdrawing my name or not.

Bishop Waugh said he should not think it necessary to speak, but for the remarks of Bishop Hedding. He said he assumed the same connection to the paper, but he must still let his name remain upon it. He came slowly into the measure, and when he signed it, he considered it a last resort; he had but little hope and should not be disappointed if it did not succeed; but he thought best to let it take its course. He should regret if it should cause a long debate. If I believed it would cause two day's discussion I might withdraw my name, but I do not feel called upon to withdraw now.

Bishop Morris said he had nothing to say, further than to remark that he wanted his name to stand there as an evidence that he had done what he could to reconcile the parties and keep peace.

Bishop Soule said, I can give assurance that my colleague was not influenced to the measure; he went into it as freely as I did. I put my name to it with the same views that my colleague did, and have not seen cause to change. I wish my name to remain attached to it; it has gone out from the Conference, and being spread before the community, and I cannot, I shall not now withdraw my name from it.

Dr. Bangs moved to lay it on the table with a view of taking a direct vote on Mr. Finley's substitute.

The yeas and nays were called for on the motion, and resulted in 95 yeas, to 83 nays.

Dr. Bangs said they had done all that could be done to effect a com-

promise and hope had entirely fled; it had fled from the South, North, East and West, and he believed wisdom and prudence, Christianity and brotherly love, demanded that they now decide it as soon as possible. He believed no material change would be affected in the final result by further delay.

Dr. Winans said the South were of one mind to entertain the compromise.

Dr. Bangs said he meant no comparison between the North and South. At this point a question of order was raised, whether the substitute was before the house, as they had only laid the Bishop's communication on the table but had not voted to take up the substitute. It was then moved to take up the substitute, which had been so long under discussion.

Mr. Collins was opposed to the motion to take up. He wished to hear a proposition from Dr. Durbin, as he had been informed that he had one to make. The substance of the proposition was stated, but it did not appear of consequence enough to arrest progress.

Mr. Blake opposed the motion to take up, with great spirit. He said they had sent out a Raven and he had returned empty, and they had sent out the Dove, and now was the window of the ark to be closed forever, and leave it no resting place within our wide spread Zion? We have had discussion, said the speaker, on almost every subject; slavery in the abstract and slavery in the concrete, science, matrimony and politics. The speaker proceeded with great zeal, but entirely wandered from the point, and was frequently called to order, and after saying many things, took his seat.

Judge Longstreet opposed the motion. There is yet hope, said he, and let us cling to it. Dr. Bang's reasons from despair, but does he not know that no proposition has come from the North. Let them make one. What is time in comparison with the interests of the church? If the vote is taken now, all hope will be closed. Let us hang on though the storm rages — "Don't give up the ship." We are not prepared to act, many are in doubt whether the resolution is imperative or only advisory, and cannot be prepared to vote until this is understood.

Mr. Paine said he was a man of peace, he had ever been a man of peace, and he deeply regretted all the unkind words and denunciations that had been uttered by either party. He said the South which he represented felt calm, but they felt their difficulties. He said all they asked was to go back and stand upon the same ground they did when they came before their constituents. He hoped the North could find some ground on which they could stand too, but if no common ground can be found we must take our stand firmly.

Mr. Porter, of New England, said he also was a man of peace, and the Conference he thought was for peace. If any wanted proof of it, they might look at the efforts that had been made for about two weeks to effect a compromise. They wanted to be one people. They had done every thing that could be done, and had come to the conclusion that there was no ground on which they could meet. The South say they cannot move, and the North say the substitute is as little as they can do and live, and that it is doubtful if they can succeed with that. They can live with nothing less. Less will destroy us. If we have a new proposition we shall discuss it for days and then come back to the substitute at last. We had better adopt it at once, and go home and make the best of it we can. I do not like the previous question, and I hope the conference will come up freely and take the question without being compelled to it by the previous question.

Mr. Mitchell wished the resolution might be amended so as to give Bishop Andrew liberty to proceed in his official work, so soon as a majority of the several annual conferences should give their consent.

Mr. Evans moved the previous question on the motion to take up, which was sustained by a vote of two thirds. The motion was then put and carried.

This brought the main question before the house for discussion.

Bishop Soule said he had reason to apprehend that brethren entertained erroneous views concerning his position when he addressed the conference on the subject. I wish to correct it, said he, before you act on the substitute. A large proportion of my remarks did not touch the resolution, only on the ground that the resolution is mandatory, suspending Bishop Andrew. Brethren must perceive that most of my remarks were entirely irrelevant if the conference is not engaged in a judicial act. So I looked upon it, and so I look upon it still. If I am wrong I wish to be right. There is a wide difference between giving advice, and a judicial decree. I wish to be correct, and therefore I recall what I said, if the resolution is not mandatory. I was led to that view by Judge Longstreet. When he was speaking, he said he believed that the resolution was mandatory and that it was designed to suspend Bishop Andrew; he then called for light, and said he should so understand the resolution if no one corrected him. He paused and no one did correct him. Other brethren said they understood it to be judicial, suspending the Bishop. If I have understood the argument, it has proceeded upon the ground that it is not admissible for slavery to be connected with the Episcopacy. This being the case, the resolution would not relieve the difficulty, unless it be a judicial suspension, for if it be merely advisory, it would

not separate slavery from the Episcopacy, as Bishop Andrew would be a bishop still, and might proceed in his work; if he did not see fit to follow the advice.

The previous question was moved by J. T. Perk. Great excitement prevailed through the Conference.

The yeas and nays were called for on the call for the previous question, but they were not ordered, and the previous question was sustained by count.

The yeas and nays were ordered on the main question and resulted as follows.

YEAS.

New-York Conference—Nathan Bangs, Stephen Olin, Phineas Rice, George Peck, John B. Stratten, Peter P. Sandford, Fitch Reed, Samuel D. Ferguson, Stephen Martindale, Marvin Richardson.

Troy Conference—Truman Seymour, John M. Wever, James Covell, Jr., Tobias Spicer, Seymore Coleman, James B. Howtaling, Jesse T. Peck.

Providence Conference—J. Lovejoy, F. Upham, S. Benton, Paul Townsend.

New-Hampshire Conference—Elihu Scott, J. Perkins, Saml. Kelly, S. Chamberlain, John G. Dow, J. Spaulding C. D. Cahoon, Wm. D. Cass

New-England Conference—J. Porter, D. S. King, P. Crandall, C. Adams, G. Pickering.

Pittsburg Conference—Wm. Hunter, H. J. Clark, J. Spencer, S. Elliot, R. Boyd, S. Wakefield, J. Drummond.

Maine Conference—M. Hill, E. Robinson, D. B. Randall, C. W. Morse, J. Hobart, Heman Nickerson, G. Webber.

Black River Conference—A. D. Peck, A. Adams, G. Baker, W. W. Ninde,

Erie Conference—J. J. Steadman, G. W. Clark, J. Robinson, T. Goodwin.

Onedia Conference—J. M. Snyder, S. Comfort, N. Rounds, D. A. Shepherd, H. F. Row, E. Bowen, D. Homes, Jr.

Michigan Conference—E. Crane, A. Billings, J. A. Baughman.

Rock River Conference—B. Weed, H. W. Reed, J. T. Mitchell.

Genesee Conference—G. Fillmore, S. Luckey, A. Steel, F. G. Hibbard, S. Seager, A. Abell, W. Hosmer, J. B. Alverson.

N. Ohio Conference—E. Thompson, J. H. Power, A. Poe, E. Yocum, W. Runuells.

Illinois Conference—P. Akers, P. Cartwright.

Ohio Conference—C. Elliott, Wm. H. Raper, J. M. Trimble, J. B. Finley, L. L. Hamline, Z. Connell, J. Ferree.

Indiana Conference—M. Simpson, A. Wiley, E. R. Ames, J. Miller,

C. W. Rutter, A. Wood, A. Eddy, J. Havens.

Texas Conference — J. Clark.

Baltimore Conference — J. A. Collins,* A. Griffith, J. Bear.

Philadelphia Conference — J. P. Durbin, L. Scott.

New Jersey Conference — I. Winner, J. S. Porter, J. K. Shaw — 110.

NAYS.

New York Conference — C. W. Carpenter.

Michigan Conference — G. Smith.

Rock River Conference — J. Sinclair.

Illinois Conference — J. Stamper, J. Van Cleve, N. G. Berryman.

Kentucky Conference — H. B. Bascom, W. Gunn, H. H. Kavanaugh,

E. Stevenson, R. T. Crouch, G. W. Brush.

Ohio Conference — E. W. Selton.

Missouri Conference — E. F. Sevjer, S. Patten, T. Stringfield.

Tennessee Conference — R. Paine, J. B. McFerrin, A. L. P. Green, T. Maddin.

North Carolina Conference — J. Jameson, Peter Doub, H. G. Leigh.

Memphis Conference — G. W. D. Harris, S. S. Moody, William McMahon, T. Joyner.

Arkansas Conference — J. C. Parker, W. P. Ratcliffe, A. Hunter.

Virginia Conference — J. Early, T. Crowder, W. A. Smith, L. M. Lee.

Mississippi Conference — Wm. Winans, B. W. Drake, J. Lane, G. M. Rogers.

Texas Conference — L. Fowler.

Alabama Conference — J. Boring, J. Hamilton, Wm. Marrah, G. Garrett.

Georgia Conference — G. F. Pierce, W. J. Paros, L. Pierce, J. W. Glenn, J. E. Evans, A. B. Longstreet.

South Carolina Conference — Wm. Capers, W. M. Wightman, C. Betts, S. Dunwody, H. A. C. Walker.

Baltimore Conference — H. Slicer, J. A. Gere, N. J. B. Morgan, T. B. Sargent, C. B. Tippet, G. Hildt.

Philadelphia Conference — T. J. Thompson, H. White, W. Cooper.

New Jersey Conference — Thomas Neal, Thomas Sovereign — 68.

Sick 2 — *Baltimore Conference* — John Davis.

Philadelphia Conference — J. T. Cooper.

The following is the preamble and resolution as adopted by the above vote.

“Whereas, The Discipline of our church forbids the doing of anything calculated to destroy our general superintendency: and whereas, Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery, by marriage and otherwise, and this act having drawn after it circumstances which in

* With the intention of moving a reconsideration.

the estimation of the General Conference, will greatly embarrass the exercises of his office as general superintendent, if not in some places entirely prevent it, therefore,

Resolved, That it is the sense of this General Conference, that he desist from the exercise of his office so long as this impediment remains."

Dr. Smith said the vote that had just been taken, merely adopted the preamble and resolution as a substitute, and that it brought it before the house just as the original had been, yet to be discussed upon its merits and adopted.

Mr. Early made some remarks not understood, there being considerable noise and excitement.

Mr. Porter of New England, said the substitute was accepted by the author of the original motion, which put it in the place of the original and of course no motion was necessary only for final adoption. Further, he said that Mr. Slicer moved an amendment, which was pronounced out of order by the chair, because a substitute cannot be amended after it was received and put in the place of the original motion. This view, that the resolution had been finally adopted, appeared to be the view of the Conference, for the subject was dropped without further remarks.

Dr. Pierce of Georgia then rose and stated that it would be remembered by the Conference, and by the spectators, that they of the minority had from the commencement insisted that if the resolution was adopted, they would enter their protest without a dissenting voice or a faltering step. I am the oldest delegate from the southern Conferences, and therefore, I rise to give notice that we intend to present our protest against the proceedings in the case of Bishop Andrew, to be recorded on the journal. We intend it to be one of the most manly and yet christian documents that has been given to the public, and we intend to put our names to it to be handed down with it to posterity. We are

"Calm as summer evenings be."

You have done what you thought you had a right to do, and we are satisfied. We thought otherwise, but you having a majority have adopted your own views, and we must submit until suitable redress can be had. This question must be settled by other tribunals organized for that purpose. I have always felt bound by the discipline; I never had an anti-methodistical feeling, but I say this in review of what it was, or what it has been understood to be, and not in review of what it is sought to be made. I reflect not upon brethren, we are willing to give you the credit of doing what you think right. But we believe that when the clouds shall have passed away, and when the whirl-wind of excitement shall have settled in the calmness of sober reflection, the voice of public

sentiment will come up booming over the land; and pronounce the verdict in our favor. For this we wish to enter one of the most manly and nervous protests that was ever entered upon a public journal.

Dr. Winans said the vote had placed the southern delegates in an awkward position, with reference to participating in the further proceedings of the conference. They were unprepared to act until they could have time for reflection and consultation, and to relieve them he moved an adjournment.

Mr Early said something which was not understood. More than a half a dozen on the floor and all talking at once — general confusion — motion for adjournment put and pronounced carried by the chair — doubted — a count ordered by the chair — cries all over the house let us adjourn. The chair, pounding most tremendously upon his table put the vote again, and directed the secretary to count, and the motion prevailed and the conference adjourned.

Monday, June 3.

Mr. Slicer presented the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Conference that the vote of Saturday last, in the case of Bishop Andrew, be understood as advisory only, and not in the light of a Judicial mandate.

Resolved, That the final disposition of Bishop Andrew's case be postponed until the General Conference of 1848, in conformity with the suggestion of the Bishops' Address presented to the Conference on Friday the 31st of May.

Mr. Slicer said he did not intend to make a speech on his motion, and he hoped it would not cause debate, but he thought it due to all parties concerned to explain the resolution, as it was differently understood by different persons. Without an explanation, it was like the Delphic Oracle, liable to any explanation which each individual might see fit to put upon it — suit his own views or taste.

Dr. Peck said he hoped the mover would consent to delay action on the resolutions for a time, as many of the members were absent, and the resolutions were of great importance.

Mr. Slicer said he had no objection to a postponement for an hour or two, until absent brethren should get it.

Mr. Early said the conference could vote on the resolutions without debate, as he presumed they would be willing to do, and then give absent members an opportunity to record their votes when they came in.

Mr. Sanford opposed the resolutions with earnestness and much feeling. He thought it entirely out of character for the conference to pass a resolution, after discussing so long, and then have to pass another resolution to tell what the first one meant. It was, in his view, a novelty. If we adopt this course, some one else may start up and ask for another resolution to explain the last, and so we may go on *ad infinitum*. He hoped the conference would not dishonor itself, by making any such explanations. He was frank to confess he had not exactly liked the preamble and resolutions from the beginning, though he voted for them, and he was willing to leave them to speak for themselves.

Mr. Slicer explained his object. He said he had no doubt there were many others, who were in the same predicament of Mr. Sanford, having voted for the resolution, thought they did not "exactly like it," and it was the object of his proposed explanation, to make them like it better or worse.

Mr. Steadman moved to lay the resolution upon the table, for the present. The yeas and nays were called for and resulted as follows: Yeas 75; Nays 68, so the motion to lay upon the table prevailed.

Dr. Capers offered a resolution for altering the restrictive rules, so as to enable the General Conference to divide the church funds, and proposing certain principles for the division of the church, and the erection of a southern General Conference.

On motion of Dr. Bangs, the resolutions were referred to a committee of nine, under instructions to report as soon as practicable. The following persons constitute the committee: Dr. Capers, Dr. Winans, Thomas Crowder, James Porter of New England, Glezen Fillmore, Peter Akens, S. S. Hamlin, John Davis, and P. P. Sanford.

A communication from the bishops was presented, calling the attention of the conference to the evils arising from building expensive houses of worship on credit. It was referred to a committee of five, consisting of A. Griffith, J. B. Finley, George Pickering, T. J. Thompson, C. W. Carpenter.

Dr. Peck opposed a resolution providing for the publication of the Journals of the General Conference, of 1840, and 1844.

L. M. Lee moved to amend by striking out 1840 and inserting 1800. After some discussion the amendment was laid upon the table and the original motion was adopted.

Mr. Porter of N. J. offered a resolution proposing a change in that item in the discipline, which authorizes the preacher to refer a trial to the quarterly conference. The design of the proposed change is to limit the quarterly conference in such cases, to the simple power to order a new trial. Lies over one day.

Mr. Crouch offered a resolution fixing on Friday next at one o'clock as the time of final adjournment. This caused considerable discussion, and was finally withdrawn.

It was then on motion, resolved that the reporters be requested not to publish the resolutions of Dr. Capers proposing a division of the church.

On motion of Mr. Drake, his resolution was taken up, proposing to strike out of the discipline that clause which requires members, on joining the church, to give satisfaction of the correctness of their faith, Chap. 2, Sec. 2.

Mr. Sanford opposed the motion with great earnestness. He thought the rule was important because the articles of religion were defective, not embracing all the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel. He said there was no article directly asserting the resurrection of the body. Without the rule proposed to be stricken out, men may be constitutionally admitted to the church who deny some of the fundamental doctrines, and are we to have a church, the members of which do not believe the cardinal doctrines of Christ? Such a church would not be the church of Christ. I have been disputed on this point; a Unitarian once told me I had no right to reject him. The rule proposed to be stricken out was inserted in 1840 and the reason why it was put in the book was, it was thought different constructions might be put upon our system. This is not the day to open so wide a door when errors of every description are afloat around us, and seeking admission into every religious community.

Mr. Crowder thought that the clause might cause some difficulty, growing out of a diversity of administrations, but that difficulties could weigh nothing in comparison with the importance of the rule to be stricken out. He contended that the article was no new term of membership, as some had supposed. It required men to be baptized, but that was not new, for it was one of our articles of faith before.

Dr. Smith said he felt a deep interest in the subject. He believed when the rule was put there in 1840, and he still believed, that it constituted a new term of membership contrary to the constitution of the church.

Another objection in his mind was, it made the reception of a candidate depend upon the will of the preacher, for he might examine the candidate wrong, and thereby render it impossible for him to answer the questions. He admitted that the object was a good one, but he thought it could be attained in another way without a violation of the constitution. Members should be required to believe the cardinal doc-

trines of Christianity, but he made this a condition of baptism, and attended to it when he baptized them. Those baptized in infancy he required to take the baptismal vows upon them when they were received into the church. He proposed to them the questions in the baptismal service, all except the last.

Dr. Bangs read the rule, and remarked that he thought the last clause unnecessary. He proposed to amend it so as to make it read, "give satisfactory evidence of their belief in our articles of religion."

Mr. Finley said if the examination was left to the judgement of the preacher, the questions asked might not be understood, but if the questions themselves were in the discipline, there could be no mistake,—he therefore preferred Smith's plan.

Mr. Kavanaugh was opposed to the whole concern, the present rule and the proposed amendment. He said they were the most united and enlightened people on the face of the earth, holy Mathew not excepted, and they were in need of no such standards.

Dr. Winans opposed the whole. He said no community has been so perfectly one in faith as the Methodists, and this he thought was because they had never gone into an examination of private views. Undertake, said he, to bring every man to the same standard, and as you screw them up, you will find little difference exists, and as you labor to screw them out of these little differences, they will attach greater importance to them, and become proud of their opinions, as they are opposed. The best way was, in his view, to bring the preachers to one standard and let them preach one doctrine, and let the people alone. Introduce new rules and tests and you will introduce a fire brand. That it was entirely unnecessary, he would appeal to Dr. Smith, and ask him if he had found one in all the examinations which he had made, who did not answer in the affirmative? He would not execute the new rule if it was suffered to remain, or if some other one like it was put in its place; he would throw himself upon the conference for protection.

Mr. Slicer was opposed to the whole. He quoted the general rule, which says, "There is only one condition required of those who desire admission into these societies, a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins." He said it was the best theology in the world to desire to flee from the wrath to come. But if you attempt to introduce the iron bedstead, you will defeat the object you have in view. It has been the glory of Methodism that while it has maintained the unity of the faith, purity and peace, it has done it without requiring men to be graduated by an iron creed. If men do not see and think just as we do when they join us, they get right in a little while, but you

undertake to screw them up to an inflexible standard, and you will only confirm them in their little differences. He said the rule as it is in the book, is a dead letter in his country; not one in ten, if one in twenty attends to it. What could a man do at the conclusion of one of our great revivals, when he has 250 probationers to admit? It would take him a week to admit them all by that rule.

Dr. Pierce supported the rule as it is now in the discipline, and opposed the motion to strike it out. He explained the rule and attempted to show that it is plain, simple, and important. He was the author of the rule, and must be expected to defend it, for he was quite as much impressed with its necessity now, as when he introduced it. He thought he had seen an increasing evil, that of gathering every thing into the church. The preachers appear to think their main object is accomplished if they can succeed in throwing the net over all that pray and feel and make a noise. If brethren are right, I have remained a child up to this time. I have always thought we were never to receive any who neglected any of our articles of association. The speaker said he could not see so many hobgoblins in the way of the rule as some others pretended they saw.

Dr. Bangs moved the previous question, which was sustained, and the question being taken on the motion to strike the rule out of the discipline, it was lost.

The report on boundaries was then taken up. This report caused considerable discussion, which was of no general interest, and the report was adopted item by item, nearly as it came from the committee, but before it was finished the conference adjourned.

Afternoon Session.—Bishop Hedding remarked that more business was before the conference, than could be done before the final adjournment, and he thought it would be wise in the conference to attend to those items which *must* be done.

Mr. Tippet of the Baltimore delegation, to whom had been referred the case of Mr. Sargeut, reported in favor of paying Mr. Sargent six hundred dollars, as salary for the time he spent in visiting Europe with Bishop Soule. The report was adopted. The committee on the evils of building expensive churches on credit, reported in favor of altering the discipline on church building, so as to require the preachers and societies to discountenance persons coming among them to beg for money to build or pay for churches in other places, unless they are recommended by an annual conference. Lies over one day under the rule. The report on boundaries was then taken up, and a long discussion followed on a proposition to divide the Texas Conference, after which

the proposition was adopted. The report having been now all adopted by item, it was adopted as a whole. It makes forty conferences in all. Conference adjourned.

Tuesday, June 4.

The committee on expenses of delegates made their final report, as follows:

Whole amount of expenses,	-	-	-	\$9467,75
Whole amount of collections,	-	-	-	9610,97
Leaving a balance of	-	-	-	<u>\$143,22</u>

The report was adopted.

Dr. Peck from the committee on slavery reported in part, the following resolution.

Resolved, That the resolutions pursued at the General Conference of 1840, on the subject of the testimony of colored persons in church trials, be, and the same are hereby repealed."

Dr. Winans moved to lay it on the table for the present. He said his design was not to give it the go-by but simply to delay it until they should be informed what was likely to grow out of the proposition in the hands of a committee for a division of the church. If the church was to be divided, it would be better to leave this matter for each division to dispose of in their own way. The motion to lay upon the table was lost.

Mr. Collins moved to amend by adding, "and all that relates to the appeal of Rev. Silas Comfort." His design, he said, was to sweep from the journals all that related to that unfortunate affair.

Mr. Early said he hoped they should not mutilate the journal.

Dr. Winans said as there was now pending a proposition to divide the church, he thought it would be better to wait.

Dr. Peck said, the committee supposed no influence could now grow out of the Comfort case.

Dr. Bangs moved that it be laid over until the committee on division shall report, which was adopted,

Mr. McFerrin from the committee on Itinerancy reported sustaining the North Ohio Conference in its refusal for a certain reason, to pay a member the amount of his claims on the Conference funds. Adopted.

Dr. Capers asked liberty for the committee on division to sit during conference hours.

Mr. Sanford opposed. Leave was granted.

Mr. Sanford asked to be excused from sitting on the committee. Request refused.

Mr. Sanford said important business was being transacted in which he was interested, and he wished to know if that Conference had power to order him off that floor. He should not go.

J. T. Peck moved to take up the order of the day, which was the report of the committee on temperance.

This was opposed by Mr. Collins but the motion prevailed.

The report was read, and in it was a clause which referred to the report of the committee on revisals, approving of that clause which proposes a change in chap. 2. sec. 7. The change proposed is as follows. The words included in brackets are to be added.

"But in cases of neglect of duty of any kind, imprudent conduct, indulging sinful tempers or words, disobedience to the order and discipline of the church, [or the manufacturing or vending of intoxicating drinks,] First, let private reproof be given," &c.

Though this amendment is contained in another report, the present report contains such an allusion to it as to test the adoption of that when it shall come up. Several brethren discussed the recommendation which it contains, to adopt the resolutions of the American Temperance Union, which report was adopted.

Mr. Collins opposed the reference to the other report, which it contained, proposing the change above given.

It is, said the speaker, an attempt to evade the restrictive rule, by putting into the discipline, in another place, what you have failed to put into the general rules for want of a constitutional majority. The general rule cannot be altered without a three quarters vote of all the annual conferences, and you sent this question down to the annual conferences, and it was returned without the requested majority. Again, you sent it down to the annual conferences, and again it has come back without the constitutional majority, and now you propose to put the same thing that you have been all this time laboring to obtain, in the discipline without such majority. The fact that you propose to put it in another place, does not make it any the less unconstitutional. Such a step will shake the foundation of the constitution. I am in favor of the change, but not in an unconstitutional way. After it has failed to obtain the constitutional majority, it would appear strange indeed for us just at this moment, to find out that we do not need the majority we have failed twice to obtain.

Mr. Collins closed with a warm exhortation to beware how they infringed the constitution.

Mr. Early opposed, after which the further consideration of the report was postponed.

J. T. Peck, then moved to take up so much of the report of the committee on revisals as relates to temperance. This was the very thing that had just been the subject of discussion, while the other report was under consideration.

Mr. Early moved as a substitute that they take up the report of the committee on the Book Concern. This most clearly was out of order, for our other subject cannot be a substitute. The chair entertained the motion however, and no one raised the question of order.

Some one moved to lay the substitute on the table. Lost.

Mr Butler hoped the substitute would prevail, as the report on temperance proposed to be taken up, he regarded as unconstitutional.

Mr. Slicer opposed the substitute and advocated taking up the report relating to temperance. He spoke with warmth and force, and appealed to a report made at a previous session by Dr. Tomlinson in reply to what had been said on the constitutional question.

The substitute prevailed. This vote brought up the report of the committee on the Book Concern, and gave the subject of temperance the go-by.

That part of the report which recommended that books be sold at 60 per cent. for the Texas market was first considered, which caused a long discussion.

Mr Sanford opposed. He said another part of that report recommended a reduction of the prices of books generally, and when that should be done, 60 per cent. discount, would be 40 per cent. below the first cost. If you wish to make Texas a present, do it openly. The measure proposed will do more harm than to give Texas all the books she needs. It would do harm by making the impression that books cost less than what they do.

Some one remarked that if they were allowed to purchase at 60 per cent. discount, they would have to pay 20 per cent. duty, and that would reduce it to 40 per cent., which was the same as others purchase, only the Texas friends had them sent at their own risk.

A. D. Peck enquired why it would not do to put the books to them the same as others, and then allow them a draw-back of the duty whatever it might be.

Mr. Bowen suggested that it would be better to say that they should be allowed to purchase at cost.

Mr. Fowler, one of the delegates from Texas, said he thought a draw-back of the amount of the duty would answer.

This plan was adopted, so that Texas purchasers of Methodist books, are allowed a draw-back of the amount of the duty charged upon them by the Texas government.

The next item in the report recommended having buildings put upon a vacant lot, which belongs to the book concern, and was adopted.

The next item recommended a reduction of the price of the books, and was adopted.

The next item recommended the publication of a cheap edition of the standard works. This caused much discussion.

Mr Sanford opposed. He said that it was not possible for them to compete with other establishments by publishing cheap works. They all allowed but a very small profit to retailers, but Methodist preachers would not sell books so.

Mr. Lane of the Book Room spoke against the proposition, in which he labored to show that Methodist books are now as cheap as others, in proportion to their contents.

The item was laid upon the table.

The next item gave instruction to the editors of the news-paper department of the church to guard against the insertion of long obituary notices. This led to a long discussion, and various propositions to amend. A substitute by Dr. Durbin was finally adopted, the substance of which is that the editors shall not insert obituary notices of more than two squares in length, leaving it discretionary with the editors in the case of memoirs.

The next item provides that agents, editors and missionary secretary located in New York, may have the privilege of belonging to such conference as they may select, with the consent of the presiding bishop. The old rule makes them members of the New York conference. This was adopted.

The report of the Book Committee laid upon the table, on Friday last, was next taken up. It concerns the Book Committee in New York and Cincinnati.

Dr. Bangs vindicated the Book Committee of New York. Answered the charge that the committee ordered the publication of his History of the M. E. Church, without having read, by saying that the Manuscript of the first volume was read before the committee, by which they were enabled to judge of the whole work.

Mr. Early replied, after which the vote was taken, and the new plan was adopted, by which the control over the Book Concern is taken from the New York conference. The same reform was adopted at Cincinnati. The item was also adopted which directs the General Conference to fix

the salaries of agents and editors, or to appoint a committee by whom it shall be done. Conference adjourned.

Wednesday, June 5.

The committee on correspondence made a second report, it being an address to the British Conference once presented and recommitted.

Dr. Luckey objected to an expression in it, which he thought implied that christians are sanctified by the Spirit alone, without the Word.

A long discussion followed, and the report was finally adopted without amendment.

The committee on Missions reported. This report is long and proposes several changes in the plan of operation.

It was moved to suspend the rule requiring it to lie over one day and to act upon it immediately. Dr. Winans opposed, and Mr. Early supported the motion, and it prevailed.

Much discussion followed of too little general interest to entitle it to a full report.

Mr. Simpson opposed all organizations of the nature of missionary societies, and contended that the church should do the work that these societies were designed to do.

Mr. Finley opposed the item which provides for the appointment of assistant missionary secretaries. One was all that they needed, and he did not believe they needed any. The editors could do the business, in his view.

Mr. Slicer called for the expenses of the secretaries for the last four years. The General Conference should know what they cost, before they were prepared to vote.

Mr. Ames, the Western secretary, said he hoped there would be a thorough investigation, for he believed there was a great laxity, and a want of proper records. He came to the conclusion to resign, and wrote a letter of resignation which he read to the conference, giving his reasons. After he had written that letter, he was persuaded not to present it. His salary had been \$1000 per annum, and his travelling expenses which were to be added to his salary had been heavy.

Mr. Collins moved to strike out the clause which authorized the appointment of assistant secretaries. He said their secretaries had cost \$20000 for the last four years. This created dissatisfaction among the people.

Dr. Bangs opposed the amendment, but it prevailed, and that portion of the report was adopted which limits the society to one corresponding secretary.

So much as relates to the plan of collecting funds was referred to a select committee of five.

Dr. Capers returned the resolution concerning the division of the church, to the secretaries' table, saying that the committee could agree on nothing which they believed would be acceptable to the conference.

Mr. Cartwright moved that the committee on episcopacy be instructed to report to-morrow morning, how many bishops need to be elected, and that their election be made the order of the day for Friday next.

This caused a warm discussion and great excitement in the conference. The motion was resolutely opposed by the South. The arguments were, that the committee could not report until they were instructed concerning the relation Bishop Andrew was to sustain to the work. They must know whether he was to be one, before they could report how many more would be necessary.

The motion was laid upon the table, after which the conference adjourned.

Afternoon Session. — The balance of the report concerning missionary operations was presented again and adopted.

Judge Longstreet in behalf of the Southern delegates presented the following document.

The delegates of the Conferences in slaveholding states take leave to declare to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that the continued agitation on the subject of slavery and abolition in a portion of the church; the frequent action on that subject in the General Conference; and especially the extra-judicial proceedings against Bishop Andrew, which resulted, on Saturday last, in the virtual suspension of him from his office of superintendent, must produce a state of things in the South which renders a continuance of the jurisdiction of the General Conference over these Conferences inconsistent with the success of the ministry in slaveholding states.

Virginia Conference — John Early, W. A. Smith, Thos. Cowper, Leroy M. Lee.

Kentucky Conference — H. B. Bascom, William Gunn, H. H. Kavanaugh, Edward Stevenson, B. T. Crouch, G. W. Brush.

Missouri Conference — W. W. Redman, William Patton, J. C. Berryman, J. M. Jameson.

Holston Conference — E. F. Sevier, S. Patton, Thomas Stringfield.

Georgia Conference — G. F. Pierce, William J. Parks, L. Pierce, J. W. Glenn, J. L. Evans, A. B. Longstreet.

North Carolina Conference — James Gunnison, Peter Doub, B. T. Blake.

Illinois Conference — J. Stamper.

Memphis Conference — G. W. D. Harris, Wm. M'Mahan, Thomas Joyner, S. S. Moody.

Arkansas Conference — John C. Parker, William P. Ratcliffe, Andrew Hunter.

Mississippi Conference — William Winans, B. M. Drake, John Lane, G. M. Rogers.

Texas Conference — Littleton Fowler.

Alabama Conference — Jesse Boring, Jefferson Hamilton, W. Murrah, G. Garrett.

Tennessee Conference — Robert Pain, John B. McFerrin, A. L. P. Green T. Maddin.

South Carolina Conference — W. Capers, William M. Wightman, Charles Betts, S. Dunwody, H. A. C. Walker.

This caused a long and heated debate, so much like many already given, as to be omitted without great loss to the reader.

The document was finally referred to a committee of nine, consisting of Paine of Tennessee, Filmore of Genesee, Akens of Illinois, Bangs of New York, Crowder of Virginia, Hamlin of Ohio, Winans of Mississippi, Porter of New England, and Sargent of Baltimore.

A report was presented and adopted on the Episcopacy, by which the committee that estimates the table expenses of a bishop is required to report to the annual conference, subject to their action.

It was directed that the report on Bishop Andrew's case be journalized.

A further report from the committee on the Book Concern was acted on, the most important item of which was a recommendation to grant \$2500,00 to the Richmond Christian Advocate to help it out of debt.

Mr. Sanford moved to lay this on the table. Lost. The item was then adopted.

Mr. McFerrin moved to instruct the committee of nine, to whom the declaration of the Southern preachers had been referred, if they could not settle the difficulty, to bring in a plan for a peaceable division of the church.

J. T. Peck opposed. He could neither recommend or approve of a division.

Mr. McFerrin supported it. He did not like to be forced to go off and erect a Southern church; he preferred a peaceable division.

Mr. Early supported the motion. He said they had come to a point where they must divide, and he challenged the North to meet them and divide in peace and good feeling. He made an appeal to the old men in behalf of a good natured separation.

The resolution was adopted. Conference adjourned.

Thursday, June 6.

The committee on slavery made their final report as follows.

The Committee on Slavery beg leave to present their final report.

After a careful examination of the petitions and memorials committed to them by the Conference, they find petitions from nine Annual Conferences. The remainder are from the people, and in all contain over 10,000 signatures.

The leading topics presented in the various petitions are as follows:

1. The petitioners pray that the resolutions on the testimony of persons of color, passed at the last General Conference, may be rescinded.
2. that this body would not elect a Slaveholding Bishop. And
3. That the General Conference would take measures entirely to separate Slavery from the Church.

Upon these points your Committee deem it inexpedient for the General Conference to take any action further than that which is recommended in their first report.

Your Committee have also received a statement of the votes from several of the Annual Conferences upon the alterations proposed to be made in the General Rules upon the subject of Slavery. No evidence, however, has yet reached the Committee that the constitutional number of votes in the Annual Conferences has been obtained to make any alterations in the General Rules upon the subject of Slavery.

All which is respectfully submitted.

GEO. PECK, Chairman.

The above report was adopted without opposition.

Bishop Hedding then made a short address respecting himself, his health and ability to labor. He gave a history of his itinerant life, brief but touching, and concluded by saying that he did not consider himself able to perform full labor, but was willing to do what he could, if he could be left free to judge, and decline more than his health would allow him to perform. He came to the conference with an intention of resigning his office, but he should not tender his resignation at present under existing circumstances. He is 64 years old, or will be to-morrow June 7.

The committee on Sabbath Schools reported. It provides for an editor of Sabbath School books, and recommends that scholars contribute one cent per week, half to be expended in the school, and the other half to be paid to the Treasury of the S. Union of the M. E. Church. After laying one item upon the table which provided that superintendents, being members of the church, should be members of the quarterly Conference, the report was adopted.

Mr. Early then asked liberty to present the protest in behalf of Dr.

Bascom who was chairman of the committee that had prepared it. Leave being granted, Dr Bascom read the protest.

The protest having been read, on motion, Dr. Olin, Dr. Durbin and Mr. Hamlin, were appointed a committee to prepare a reply to the protest to be recorded with it.

A motion was made to take up the report of the committee on Itinerancy.

A. D. Peck moved as a substitute that the report on slavery be taken up.

The chair decided that the substitute was out of order, by which he reversed the action of one of the other bishops who put just such a substitute.

It was then moved to lay the motion on the table which was lost.

The motion prevailed to take up the report of the committee on Itinerancy.

This report recommends several important changes, which may be noticed without giving the detail.

That a presiding elder, after having been four years on a district, shall not be returned to it under six years. Adopted.

That the bishops be not allowed to put more than twelve charges in a district. This caused considerable discussion, was amended by striking out twelve and inserting fifteen, and was then adopted.

That preachers after being two years on a charge, shall not be returned to the same charge under six years, and shall not be continued in the same city more than four years in succession, and after having been four years in a city, shall not be returned under four years. Adopted.

Conference adjourned.

Afternoon Session. — A report from the Book Committee of small moment was adopted.

P. P. Sanford presented a report from the Missionary Society of the M. E. Church. The secretary commenced reading, but soon got stuck, not his fault, he was a first rate reader — while he was seeking help, a motion to lay it on the table was made and lost.

The secretary still stuck — Moved to refer it to the committee of publication, which was carried.

Levi Scott offered the following resolution, viz ;

Whereas, the Committee on Episcopacy do not find it practicable to report the number of Bishops necessary to be elected at this Conference; and *whereas*, the report of said committee is not essential to the action of the Conference in the premises; therefore,

Resolved, That this Conference elect two additional Bishops, and that

to-morrow (Friday) at 10 o'clock he fixed as the time for electing said Bishops and the other general officers of the Church.

This was stoutly opposed by the South. The main argument was that they were not prepared to act until they heard from the bishops, and learn how many of the present number were effective, and what was to be the relation of Bishop Andrew.

Mr. Cartwright supported the motion in his usual style which makes every body laugh but himself.

While the discussion raged with great fury, the following was presented by Bishop Soule in behalf of the board of bishops.

To the General Conference :

REV. AND DEAR BRETHREN: — As the case of Bishop Andrew unavoidably involves the future action of the Superintendents, which, in their judgement, in the present position of the Bishops they have no discretion to decide, they respectfully request of the General Conference official instruction in answer to the following questions.

First. Shall Bishop Andrew's name remain as it now stands in the Minutes, Hymn-book and Discipline, or be struck off of those official records?

Second. How shall the Bishop obtain his support — as provided for in the Discipline, or in some other way?

Third. What work, if any, may the Bishop perform, and how shall he be appointed to the work?

JOSHUA SOULE,
ELIJAH HEDDING,
B. WAUGH,
THO. A. MORRIS.

After much discussion and many attempts to evade, coming to a direct vote, the following resolutions were adopted in answer to the document, being forced through under the previous question.

1. *Resolved*, as the sense of this Conference, that Bishop Andrew's name stand in the Minutes, Hymn-book and Discipline as formerly.

2. *Resolved*, That the rule in relation to the support of a Bishop and his family applies to Bishop Andrew.

3. *Resolved*, That whether in any, and in what work Bishop Andrew be employed, is to be determined by his own decision and action in relation to the previous action of this conference in his case.

The yeas and nays were ordered on all three of the above resolutions, and were taken as follows:

First resolution — yeas 153, nays 18.

Second resolution — yeas 153, nays 14.

Having proceeded thus far, J. T. Peck moved a substitute for the third resolution, which was laid upon the table.

Mr. Winans opposed the resolution on the ground that a bishop had no right to choose whether he would travel or not. He said the two votes already passed acknowledged him to be a bishop unimpeached, and the world would so regard it. He congratulated the south on having obtained a slave-holding bishop, and on having obtained his recognition by the General Conference.

Mr. Cartwright said he hoped the brother would not shout before he got happy. Mr. Collins moved a substitute which was laid upon the table.

Mr. Sever offered a substitute which was laid upon the table. Great excitement now reigned.

A motion was made to adjourn, which was lost.

The previous question was then moved and sustained, and the vote being called on the resolution stood thus :

Yeas, 103. Nays 67. The South voted against the resolution.

A motion was then made for adjournment which failed.

The motion providing for the election of bishops, which was under discussion when the document from the bishops was presented, was now called up.

Moved to lay it on the table. Lost.

Previous question moved. Lost.

Moved and carried to adjourn.

James Porter of New England asked liberty to change his vote on the first resolution defining the position of Bishop Andrew. Liberty being given, he voted in the negative. Mr. Adams of the same conference asked and obtained the same liberty.

F. G. Hibbard of the Genesee conference, asked liberty to withdraw his vote, and to enter in place of it, a protest against being compelled to vote. This was the most strange request ever made, for if the vote was withdrawn, the protest would be uncalled for, yea false. The Conference did not grant his request. Several items of business done of little importance.

The resolution under discussion when the Conference adjourned, fixing a time for the election of bishops, was called up. Some discussion followed, and the previous question being moved, and sustained, the resolution was carried, to go into the election at three o'clock this afternoon.

The report of the committee on slavery was then taken up.

Mr. Mitchell advocated striking all from the Journal that related to the appeal of Silas Comfort.

Dr. Peck said if any brother from the South could say that the Comfort case, as it stood upon the journal would be prejudicial to them, he would consent to amend the report, so as to strike it all out.

Judge Longstreet of Georgia opposed the motion to amend, so as to strike out the record of the Comfort appeal.

The vote was taken on the report simply to repeal what related to colored testimony, and it was adopted. Yeas 115. Nays 40.

Mr. Scott offered a resolution affirming that the church stands the same now on the subject of colored testimony, as it did prior to 1840. Laid upon the table.

Moved by P. P. Sanford and seconded by Judge Longstreet, that Bishop Andrew be furnished with a copy of all the papers relating to his case. Carried.

The report on a course of study for candidates for deacon's and elder's orders, was taken up and discussed, and finally adopted. It directs a four years' course of study to be prepared by the Bishops, and published at the Book Room.

The report of the committee of nine on division was presented and read as follows:

Whereas, a declaration has been presented to this General Conference, with the signatures of *fifty-one* delegates of the body, from thirteen annual conferences in the slaveholding states; representing that, for various reasons enumerated, the objects and purposes of the Christian ministry and church organization cannot be successfully accomplished by them under the jurisdiction of this General Conference as now constituted; and

Whereas, in the event of a separation, a contingency to which the declaration asks attention as not improbable, we esteem it the duty of this General Conference to meet the emergency with Christian kindness and the strictest equity; therefore,

Resolved, By the delegates of the several annual Conferences in General Conference assembled,

Ist, That should the delegates from the Conferences in the slaveholding states find it necessary to unite in a distinct ecclesiastical connection, the following rule shall be observed with regard to the Northern boundry of such connection. All the societies, stations and conferences adhering to the church in the South, by a vote of the majority of the members of said societies, stations and conferences, shall remain under the unmolested pastoral care of the Southern church, and the

ministers of the M. E. Church shall in no wise attempt to organize churches or societies within the limits of the church south, nor shall they attempt to exercise any pastoral oversight therein, it being understood that the ministry of the South reciprocally observe the same rule in relation to stations, societies and conferences adhering by vote of a majority to the M. E. Church, provided also that this rule shall apply only to societies, stations and conferences bordering on the line of division and not to interior changes, which shall in all cases be left to the care of that church within whose territory they are situated.

2. That ministers, local and travelling, of every grade and office in the M. E. Church, may, as they prefer, remain in that church, or without blame attach themselves to the church South.

3d. Resolved, by the delegates of all the annual conferences in General Conference assembled, that we recommend to all the annual conferences, at their first approaching sessions, to authorize a change of the sixth restrictive article, so that the first clause shall read thus—
“They shall not appropriate the produce of the book concern, nor of the chartered fund, to any purpose other than for the benefit of the travelling, supernumerary, superannuated and worn out preachers, their wives, widows and children, and to such other purposes as may be determined upon by the votes of two-thirds of the members of the General Conference.

4th. That whenever the annual Conferences, by a vote of three-fourths of all their members voting on the third resolution, shall have concurred in the recommendation to alter the sixth restrictive article, the agents at New York and Cincinnati shall, and they are hereby authorized and directed to deliver over to any authorized agent or appointee of the church South, should one be authorized, all notes and book accounts against the ministers, church members or citizens within its boundaries, with authority to collect the same for the sole use of the Southern church, and that said agents also convey to the aforesaid agent or appointee of the South all the real estate and assign to him all the property, including presses, stock and all right and interest connected with the printing establishment at Charleston, Richmond and Nashville, which now belong to the M. E. Church.

5th. That when the annual Conferences, shall have approved the aforesaid change in the sixth restrictive article, there shall be transferred to the above agent of the Southern church, so much of the capital and produce of the Methodist book concern as will, with the notes, book accounts, presses, &c., mentioned in the last resolution, bear the same proportion to the whole property of said concern that the travelling

ministers in the Southern church shall bear to all the travelling ministers of the M. E. Church; the division to be made on the basis of the number of travelling preachers in the forthcoming minutes.

6th. That the above transfer shall be in the form of annual payments of \$25,000 per annum, and specifically in stock of the book concern and in Southern notes and accounts due to the establishment, and accruing after the first transfer mentioned above; and until all the payments are made, the Southern church shall share in all the nett profits of the book concern, in the proportion that the amount due them, or in arrears, bears to all the property of the concern.

7th. That ——— be and they are hereby appointed commissioners to act in concert with the same number of commissioners appointed by the Southern organization, (should one be formed,) to estimate the amount which will fall due to the South by the preceding rule, and to have full powers to carry into effect the whole arrangements proposed with regard to the division of property, should the separation take place. And if by any means a vacancy occurs in this board of commissioners, the book committee of New York shall fill the vacancy.

8th. That whenever any agents of the Southern church are clothed with legal authority or corporate power to act in the premises, the agents at New York are hereby authorized and directed to act in concert with said Southern agents, so as to give the provisions of these resolutions a legally binding force.

9th. That all the property of the Methodist Episcopal Church in meeting-houses, parsonages, colleges, schools, conference funds, cemeteries, and of every kind, within the limits of the Southern organization, shall be forever free from any claim set up on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, so far as this resolution can be of force in the premises.

10th. That the church so formed in the South shall have an equal right to use all the copyrights in possession of the book concerns at New York and Cincinnati at the time of the settlement by the commissioners.

Resolved, That the Bishops be respectfully requested to lay that part of this report requiring the action of the annual Conferences, before them as soon as possible, beginning with the New York Conference.

ROBERT PAINE, *Chairman.*

New York, June 7, 1844.

The order of the day was then taken up, which was the election of Bishops. The Conference had balloted twice without electing any one, and were about proceeding to a third trial when the reporter left this

seat in order to secure his passage in a boat homeward. Thus ends his labors for this campaign, and a hard one it has been. Some errors have occurred which he intended to have corrected at the close, but so much time has elapsed, and other matters call so loudly for attention, that he must be excused from going over the long and weary columns to hunt them out. He believes it generally correct, and if any small mistakes should be detected, the excuse will be found in the fact that the reporter had his seat in the gallery, where there was often much noise, and where some persons, for some purpose, often crowded him, and sometimes attempted to crowd him out of his seat. Whether or not they took this hint from a certain editor, who, though he has been in kings' palaces, published to the world, that the reporter of the True Wesleyan ought not to be allowed a place in the General Conference, others must judge. But it is finished.

LUTHER LEE.

[*The following is from the M. E. Official Report.*]

Mr. Peck moved to suspend the rules, in order to take up the special order of the day, which was carried.

The conference then proceeded to ballot for the election of two bishops, which resulted as follows. Whole number of votes 176. Necessary to a choice 89:

	1st.	2d.
Rev. E. S. Janes,.....	86.....	102
— L. L. Hamline,.....	75.....	90
— Dr. George Peck,.....	81.....	80
— Dr. H. B. Bascom,.....	56.....	62
— J. F. Wright,.....	36.....	20
— Dr. Elliott,.....	1	
— Dr. Bangs,.....	2	
— Mr. Ames,.....	2	
— Mr. Pitman,.....	6.....	1
— Dr. Durbin,.....	4.....	2
— Dr. Olin,.....	3.....	2

On the second ballot it was ascertained that there had been more votes cast than there were voters, and the balloting was declared void.

Dr. Capers mover that E. S. Janes be declared duly elected a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This was objected to by several members, and the motion was withdrawn. The conference then proceeded to ballot the third time, each member coming up and depositing his ballot as his name was called.

Whole number of votes,.....176

Necessary to a choice,.....89

Rev. E. S. Janes,.....	99
— L. L. Hamline,.....	102
— Dr. G. Peck,.....	74
— Dr. H. B. Bascom,.....	52
— J. F. Wright,.....	17
— Dr. Olin,.....	2
— Dr. Durbin,.....	1
— Dr. Baugs,.....	1
— Mr. Ames,.....	1

The President then announced that Leonidas L. Hamline and Edmund S. Janes were duly elected Superintendents or Bishops of the M. E. Church. Conference then adjourned.

Saturday, June 8.

The special committee on the best plan for increasing the mission funds reported in substance as follows:—

The committee appointed to devise a more uniform and efficient plan of raising funds for missionary purposes recommend the establishment of a Conference Missionary Society, auxiliary to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which Conference Missionary Society should annually transmit to the corresponding secretary a report of its operations, and the amount of funds collected.

That the presiding elders should bring the subject of missions before the quarterly meeting conferences, each of which quarterly conferences should appoint a committee to assist the presiding elders in their plans for raising funds, such as preaching sermons, holding meetings, &c.

That it should be the duty of preachers in charge of circuits and stations to organize one or more missionary societies, auxiliary to the missionary society of the annual conference, to take up a missionary collection in each congregation within their respective charges, to appoint in each class a missionary collector, to collect from the members one cent a week, &c.

That the quarterly conferences shall fill up vacancies in the missionary committee; that the said committee shall, at least once a year, hold missionary meetings within their respective charges; and that in the examinations of the preachers at the annual conferences, a reference be had to the faithful performance of their duties in reference to the missionary cause.

The committee on the Chartered Fund reported on the communication of the Rev. John A. Gere, in relation to a legacy left to the Charter-

ed Fund by the Rev. Thos. Keys. That report recommends that the communication be referred to the trustees of the Chartered Fund. The report was laid on the table.

Dr. Bangs then presented the following report from the select committee on the Sabbath :—

The committee appointed on the Sabbath beg leave to report —

That they have taken into consideration the object of their appointment, and are prepared to say that they consider that the divine appointment of one day in seven for holy purposes cannot be questioned by any believer in divine revelation. They therefore think it unnecessary to enter into any argument to establish this point, it being so plainly revealed and so obviously promotive of the health, comfort, and more particularly of the religious enjoyment of mankind. Hence it is a matter of joy to behold the efforts that are put forth by various religious denominations in our country, by the formation of associations, the holding of conventions, and the use of various other means, to promote the due observance of the Christian Sabbath.

Had they time the committee could say much on this subject, but they must content themselves by observing that they are glad to find from the documents submitted to their inspection, that the Christian public is waking up to the importance of renewed exertions to put down the desecration of the holy Sabbath, and thereby induce the people generally to a right observance of its obligations, and also to find that our public men, the owners of steamboats, of railroads, and other public conveyances, are becoming more and more favorable to the promotion of this object.

The committee conclude their report by offering to the consideration of the conference the adoption of the following resolutions :—

1st. Resolved by the delegates of the several annual conferences in General Conference assembled, That it be earnestly recommended to all our preachers and people to use their best exertions to promote the due observance of the holy Sabbath, by co-operating with the various associations that have been formed for this purpose.

2d. Resolved, that it be the duty of all our preachers to enforce frequently from the pulpit the divine obligation which all are under to keep the Sabbath day holy, being fully convinced that were this precept blotted from the decalogue, and men left without the restraints which it imposes, religion and (of course) morality would cease to exert their saving and hallowed influences. Respectfully submitted.

Signed,

N. BANGS Chairman.

Adopted.

Mr. Paine moved to suspend the rules in order to take up the report

of the committee of nine. He thought it necessary to dispose of the most important business first, and the report of this committee he considered of vast importance.

Dr. Bangs concurred as to the importance of this report, of which he thought the conference must have been convinced, simply from hearing it read. If the other business were first disposed of, the number of members then left would be small. He hoped, therefore, the conference would take up the report.

Mr. Cartwright thought it was natural or constitutional somehow to make difficulties. Now they could live a hundred years without that report, but the election of conference officers *must* be attended to.

Mr. Crowder said Mr. Cartwright might not feel so sensibly as he and those with him did on the subject of this report, but every member *ought* deeply to feel its importance, for while he believed they might live a hundred or a thousand years *with* that report, he was equally sure they could not live without it.

Mr. Porter said there were brethren there whom they would see no more when the election was over. He deemed the report as important as any that had been before that body, and wished to meet it in the cool of the morning understandingly and sincerely.

The motion to suspend the rules was carried, and the report taken up and read.

Dr. Elliott moved its adoption, and would explain his views on the subject without attempting to approach debate. He had had the opportunity of examining it, and had done so, narrowly. He believed it would insure the purposes designed, and would be for the best interests of the Church. It was his firm opinion that this was a proper course for them to pursue, in conformity with the Scriptures, and the best analogies they could collect from the ancient Churches, as well as from the best organized modern Churches. All history did not furnish an example of so large a body of Christians remaining in such close and unbroken connection as the M. E. Church. It was now found necessary to separate this large body, for it was becoming unwieldy. He referred to the Churches at Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, which, though they continued as one, were at least as distinct as the Methodist E. Church would be if the suggested separation took place. The Church of England was one under the Bishops of Canterbury and York, connected and yet distinct. In his own mind it had been for years perfectly clear that to this conclusion they must eventually come. Were the question that now unhappily agitated the body dead and buried, there would be good reason for passing the resolutions contained in that report. As to their repre-

sentation in that General Conference, one out of twenty was but a meagre representation, and to go on as they had done, it would soon be one out of thirty. And the body was now too large to do business advantageously. The measure contemplated was not schism, but separation for their mutual convenience and prosperity.

Dr. Pain said, the committee wished a verbal alteration made. In the fifth resolution "preachers" were spoken of in the southern Church, and "ministers" in the northern. Nothing was said there of the Chartered Fund — the committee had prepared the following additional resolution to meet the omission :—

12. *Resolved*, That the Book Agents at New-York be directed to make such compensation to the conferences South for their dividend from the Chartered Fund as the commissioners to be provided for shall agree upon.

Mr. Crowder. Is it dividend, or capital?

Dr. Bangs. It must be dividend — the capital cannot be touched.

Mr. Griffith had a few words to say in relation to this extraordinary measure, against which he would record his dissent if he stood alone in the matter. He contended that if to pass an act that was against the law be termed extra-judicial, then this measure was extra-legislative. They dared not refer this question to the annual conferences, which the constitution required them to do, but they put it on a very different issue, viz., When a majority of that conference thought it expedient, then the annual conferences were to be applied to, to make a distribution of the property of the body. They put it in the power of any body of men to reorganize themselves and make a distinct body whenever they chose. He denied that any one had a right to divide the M. E. Church. He wanted to know if they were sent here to divide the M. E. Church. If there was any such authority he had not seen it.

Again, the report went to disfranchise them of their common right to choose where they will belong. To be sure it granted to certain border circuits to say where they would belong, but those interior it compelled to submission, giving them no choice if they wished to be members of the M. E. church, whether it should be northern or southern. Where was the authority for all this? Where that liberty of conscience of which no man could be deprived? The man who would dare to deprive his fellow man of the rights of conscience was a tyrant, whether he might be a member of the Methodist Episcopal General Conference or a Pope. He hoped the ayes and noes would be called, that the people might know which delegates sent there for other purposes had consented to the separation of the great body of the M. E. Church.

Mr. Cartwright felt a little embarrassed : not the usual embarrassment

he felt when he spoke before his superiors, but he was embarrassed, in the first place, because he saw his southern-brethren coming up to this measure in one solid phalanx; and, in the second place, because he saw lawyers and doctors, to say nothing of scribes and pharisees, lending their aid to it. He was also embarrassed because they were on the eve of final adjournment, and if all were as anxious to retire as he was, they would have gone home long ago. They had boasted, as the public newspapers and your records will show, that the M. E. Church is one and indivisible — a unit. They had not had any schism, and perhaps they would not have any now. He thanked God that in the radical agitation he was one of the noble twenty-six who stood up against the action of the Baltimore Conference in that matter. He would rather die himself than kill the Church. He thought the measure was a wicked one, and that it robbed both the North and the South of their rights. He spoke of the South and then of the North, and said if any of the North wanted to go with the South he would say with all his heart, Amen; let them go, and God speed them. He thought it would create war and strife in the border conferences; he knew it to be an easy matter to take it in this lumping, gulping way, and to swallow it altogether, but he chose to go right in the outset, and while he disclaimed their right to lord it over the people, he also disclaimed their right to rob the people,

He then referred to Dr. Elliot. He had defended the doctor but a few days since, but the doctor had exceeded him in his eloquence to-day. Nevertheless he claimed to have as much common sense as Dr. Elliot; and though his sense might be common, he trusted that it was not "unclean." The doctor had passed over musty books, and had gone back to the "days before the flood," or shortly after, to find examples. The M. E. Church was the creature of Providence, and he wanted to know why the doctor's faith failed him when they entered upon this ocean of slavery. Now he thought Providence had always undertaken for them. They had been Ishmaelites, every man's hand against them, not only in the world, but in every political manufacturing shop, but upborne by the majesty of truth and the baptismal fire of the Holy Ghost, they had outridden the storm and were not wrecked. From the time of O'Kelly down to the last Scottite disturbances, God had provided a *trash-trap* to take the scum away. He had trusted God before, and he was not afraid to trust him again. He thanked God that the M. E. Church was not a prison, where they were obliged to stay, but there was a door in, and a door out. He was opposed to this measure, because it would set a bad precedent, and would have a tendency to break the Church into a thousand ramifications. If they had come up to their conferences in

view of this state of things, the case would have been altered entirely, but he knew that some parts of the interior had never heard of such a state of things, and it would be a difficult matter to satisfy the people that we have not acted in advance of the Discipline and constitution.

He contended that they had no authority conferred upon them, either directly or indirectly, to divide the Church. As one of the southern members had said to him emphatically, so he would say to them now, Pause before you go too far, pause—and if you will not do it for ours, do it for your own sakes. He was willing to go for this proposition, and this alone, to lay the whole case before the people during the next four years, and if the next General Conference came up instructed to enact this measure, they will have some excuse for doing so. He had discharged his duty in the fear of God and man, and he would go home with a quiet conscience.

Dr. Paine said that he approached the subject with friendly feelings toward all, and with solemnity on account of its importance. This had been pronounced a revolutionary measure. There is not in any government a provision made to divide itself, and consequently it must be done by violence, or in a peaceful manner by common consent. The case of Bishop Andrew had thrown them into a peculiar attitude. He could not say what was the state of feeling in his conference, but those brethren who live nearer have heard from their people, and they hear that they are very much excited. Unless steps of conciliation were taken, of which he saw no prospect, the possibility of separation could not be denied, and this measure was taken that it might be effected pleasantly. He did not know for certainty that separation would take place, that it would become positively and imperiously necessary. He ardently hoped it would not. The South generally did not desire it, they were unwilling that it should take place; and for himself, he could honestly say, that the most painful circumstances through which he ever passed, except the pangs of conviction and repentance before God, were those connected with this subject. The South had resorted to this measure to avoid a greater calamity. If on arriving at home, in order to keep down faction, and prosecute harmoniously the great end of the Methodist ministry, they found it necessary to act upon this measure, they should feel bound to do it; and out of love to Methodist doctrines and institutions, to the souls of men, and the honor of their common Master, carry out the provisions of this enactment. But they would not thus act unless driven to it. The separation would not be effected by the passage of these resolutions through the General Conference. They must pass the annual conferences, beginning at New York, and when

they came round to the South the preachers there would think, and deliberate, and feel the pulse of public sentiment, and of the members of the church, and act in the fear of God and with a single desire for his glory. Let not brethren suppose that because they hailed from the South they were pugnacious and schismatic. They were not reckless men, but men of God and Christians. They had no revolutionary designs, but desired to go home to their people, prepared to satisfy their demands, and because they loved souls they wished to prepare for the worst. They should be one people still until it was formally announced, by a convention of the southern churches, that they had resolved to ask an organization in accordance with the provisions of the report. Twelve or eighteen months would transpire ere they could act in the premises, by which time the feverish excitement—if feverish excitement it be—will have passed away. The South, however, felt seriously apprehensive, that the necessity even now existed. Yet he repeated they were not schismatics, no “trash-trap” was to catch them. He hoped the brother did not apply that offensive term to them.

Mr. Cartwright. I did not.

Dr. Paine continued. They were not revolutionists, and though the press—some of them, and these perhaps were letter-writers—had dealt in vituperative remarks; he called upon them to bear witness that their discussions had proceeded with marked kindness and courtesy generally, while in committee not one unkind word had been uttered, or an unkind feeling existed. Brethren who had heard from their people were alarmed at the increasing dissatisfaction among them, and all the southern brethren desired was to have some ground to stand upon when they got home. He could wish the discussions now to be at an end, and that they should go home to pray, to think, and deliberate. Brethren had placed them in a sad dilemma, for they had practically disputed the equality of their rights. The brethren say, that they put their dissent upon this; he wished they had put their dissent upon the acts that had brought them to this, and that they had believed them when they told them of this state of things. As to the allusions that had been made to border warfare, he could only say that the measure had been prepared as a peace measure. If they were inclined for warfare, the south had talent enough to enter upon it. If they (the south) were to call a mass-meeting in this city, and state their wrongs, they would be able to enlist almost universal sympathy on their behalf, and the city and the churches would be agitated; but this the south deprecated. They strongly deprecated it; this measure had been concocted in a spirit of compromise and fraternal feeling, in the hope of preventing

agitation and schism. Let no man interrupt the fraternal and loving spirit they sought to establish, but let them enter upon the question in the fear of God, and let their brethren be assured the south entertained no bitter or hostile feelings in the premises.

Dr. Luckey said that on some subjects he had no objection to a little levity, but he thought this of too grave and serious a character. It was a serious and eventful movement, because they had come to a very serious and eventful crisis in the progress of Methodism in this country. He regarded the resolution as provisional and preliminary, settling nothing at present, but providing in an amicable and proper way, for such action as it might hereafter be necessary to take. He hoped such necessity would never arise, and that southern brethren would not find it necessary to leave them. Reference had been made to secessions, &c. But was it not better that they should separate than have a continuation of strife and of warfare? The danger apprehended by his friend from Illinois existed only in the fires of his imagination. He (Dr. L.) had said privately and frequently, that if the separation were necessary, it ought to be amicably and constitutionally effected, and there was no intention of doing it otherwise. Allusion had been made to the radicalism that had disturbed the church some years ago, but that had no affinity with the present case. He granted that Mr. Wesley had contended at one time for the unity of the Methodist body throughout the world, but he subsequently saw it necessary to permit the connection in the United States to separate, and had it not been for the best?

Dr. Bangs explained the composition of the committee, as formed by three from the south, three from the middle states, and three from the north. They were also instructed, by a resolution of the conference how to act in the premises; that if they could not adjust the difficulties amicably, they were to provide for separation if they could do so constitutionally. Under such instructions the committee went out and proceed to interchange their thoughts upon the subject. Great difficulties arose, which were revolved in their minds, and after two days of close labor, after minute inspection and revision of every sentence, they had presented this report, from which the conference would see that they had at least obeyed their instructions, and had met the constitutional difficulty by sending round to the annual conferences that portion of the report which required their concurrence. The speakers who have opposed that report have taken entirely erroneous views of it. It did not speak of division—the word had been carefully avoided through the whole document—it only said, “in the event of a separation taking place,” throwing the responsibility from off the shoulders of the Gen-

eral Conference and upon those who should say that such a separation was necessary. He hoped the time would never come. But what was the true course for men brought into difficulties? Why, there was an old adage—and he knew not that it was any the worse for its age—Of two evils choose the least—the choice was between the violent separation of the South and its peaceable and amicable separation; and which was the lesser evil? He need no answer, for the response was already in every man's breast. Objections had been made on the ground of the resolutions interfering with liberty of conscience on the part of the members, by forcing them to take a position which they might not wish to take. That was a groundless objection altogether. The laws, discipline, doctrines, government, all would be the same, and they should be as warm in their affection toward each other as they were now. [Amen, in a very earnest and feeling tone from Dr. Capers.] Allusion had been made to the course pursued by Mr. Wesley, in reference to the Methodist Church in the United States. The same would apply to the Methodist societies in Ireland. They had an independent conference.

Several voices. No, no.

Mr. T. B. Sargent. They have a separate relation, just as the government of Ireland differs from the government of England,—it is indeed adapted to the civic government.

Dr. Bangs. That is just what we want. The South ask a separate conference, adapted to the institutions of that portion of the country. Another evil was that there was a diversity of sentiment among the border conferences; if the line proposed by the resolutions were drawn it would lessen the evil and perhaps remove it out of the way altogether. He (Dr. B.) had been a traveling preacher about forty-four years, and gloried in the belief that the M. E. Church was one; he had done all in his power to keep it so. He hoped that the providence of God would overrule the present adverse circumstances for good, but if they must separate, was it right to deprive their brethren of the south of their just rights? Would it be right for the majority to deprive the minority of one iota of their rights, temporal or spiritual? He would not do it, and he hoped the conference would come to a unanimous adoption of the report.

Mr. Filmore explained still further the constitution and labors of the committee, and went on to say that the design of God in raising up the Methodists was to spread Scriptural holiness through the land. The brethren from the South say, they fear they cannot go on doing this under existing circumstances. The North say, if they yield any of the

ground they have taken, they shall throw impediments in their own path in carrying out the same object. Now Methodism, as the child of Providence, adjusts herself, as she has always done, to the circumstances of the case — she proposes that, if these fears prove well grounded, they divide into bands, and go on spreading holiness through their respective territories; their strife, he believed, would be to excel in straight-forward Wesleyan Methodism. The resolutions do not say that the South must go, will go, or that any body wants them to go; but simply make provision for such a contingency, and provide that in such case they shall have all necessary munitions of war for carrying on their holy enterprise. He did not think there was a man among them who would dare to lay his head upon his pillow, if he held from his southern brethren one cent of their common funds.

The report had cost the committee three days of close application, and the sub-committee had worked by night as well as by day. Every sentiment in the report had been sifted, and every word weighed, and the committee had brought it in understanding what it was. He was aware it was the work of human hands; but let that General Conference propose fifty amendments, and fifty to one they would amend it for the worse.

Mr. Finley could see in the report no proposition to divide the church. If he saw such a proposal he should stop at the threshold. Nor did he see any thing unconstitutional in it. The constitution did not require them to send abroad a proposition to divide the Church, and it would therefore be unconstitutional to send such a proposition to the annual conferences. And now he expected his brother from Illinois, (Cartwright) and himself, would tear the blanket between them, they having got hold on opposite sides.

The parties voting on each side of the great question stood precisely alike. There was a great gulf between them, and he wished there was middle ground on which both could stand. His heart would have gladly moved further if he could have secured what he wanted; but he and his friends had gone as far as the safety of the work would allow them. There was one point that had not been touched yet. Mr. Wesley separated the American Church from the English Church. And in 1824-8 there was an application made by the Canada Conference to set them off as a distinct Church; and the General Conference told them they had no power to do so, but gave them liberty to do just what they now proposed to do with the South. They agreed, that if they went off, and set up for themselves, we would authorize one of our Bishops to ordain a man for them, if they should elect one to the episcopacy.

Mr. Cartwright. We did not give them any part of the funds.

Dr. Bangs. The New-York Conference gave them \$10,000

Mr. Finley. The General Conference voted that the New-York Conference should make that division, and we are now doing nothing more than we did then.

A call being made for the reading of the Journal on this point,

Mr. Hamline took the floor, by consent, until the journals were examined. He explained the action of the committee in reference to the sixth restrictive article. When the first committee met they had before them a paper, which proposed a new form or division of the Church. The committee thought there were difficulties in the way of such a proposition. One provision was to send it to the annual conferences, but that was unconstitutional and revolutionary in its character; and when their votes came back the General Conference would have no more authority than they had now. Why then send it? The Book Concern is chartered in behalf of the General Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States; and if they did separate until only one State remained, still Methodism would remain the same, and it would still be the Methodist E. Church of the U. S. But if they sent out to the annual conferences to alter one restrictive article it would be constitutional, and to divide the Book Concern so that they might be honest men and ministers. The resolution goes on to make provision, if the annual conferences concur, for the security and efficiency of the southern conferences, for the Methodist Church would embrace them in its fraternal arms, tendering to them fraternal feelings and the temporalities to which they were entitled. And the committee thought it could not be objected to on the ground of constitutionality. He, for one, would wish to have his name recorded affirming them to be brethren, if they found they must separate. God forbid that they should go as an arm torn out of the body, leaving the point of junction all gory and ghastly! But let them go as brethren "beloved in the Lord," and let us go and preach Jesus to them, and they come and preach Jesus to us.

Dr. Bond said, he had paid attention to the reading of the report, and understood the intention of the committee to be to provide for peace and love, and harmony still to be perpetuated in the great Methodist family. Such is the declaration, and he hoped such was the sincere intention of that report. As to the constitutional objection, he presumed that no one there would contend that there could have been any constitutional provision for the separation of one part of the church from another; and if the necessity of the case now required it, it could only be justified by the adage, that "necessity has no law." In carrying out the

provision necessary for such an adjustment, those who framed the report were compelled to assume the right to prevent churches and societies from deciding according to elective affinity. And hence it has provided that societies or churches in the interior conferences who go off, or who remain, cannot change their relation to the conferences where they are found. They only justify this on the ground of necessity, to avoid the agitations that would grow out of a different state of things. Why, then, (asked Dr. B.) if the object is to procure peace, and to prevent conflicts — why then does it provide for a border warfare from Delaware to the Ohio River, and how much further my geography does not supply data? The Philadelphia Conference has all the slave territory of Delaware, Maryland, and two counties of Virginia; and every one who will be left to say how far the border extends, and all that portion of the country must be agitated with the question as to what conference they belong to! When you get to the Baltimore Conference, you have ten counties below the Blue Ridge, and all the valley of Virginia, and here again must be carried on a border warfare! Again, the Ohio Conference, and the Pittsburgh takes in parts of Virginia, and will be exposed to the same border warfare!

Now the brethren cannot suppose, that while the warfare exists on the borders, the interior will be at peace, or that we shall love each other as we ought. The same disastrous state of things will exist beyond the Ohio River, and in every territory where slaveholding and non-slaveholding conferences lie contiguous to each other. You therefore provide for a border warfare in the resolutions of that report. I do beseech brethren to weigh well this matter and that they adhere to the conference lines as they now stand, and then we shall have peace. There will be perhaps a little agitation, but nothing of moment unless the preachers make it. If we must come to this separation — which I have never liked, and which I had hoped never to see in my day; — yet, if we must come to it, let us provide for peace through the churches, and part in such a spirit that we can continue to co-operate in the great work in which we are all engaged, and let us not pass resolutions which will perpetuate border warfare and strife.

If it be necessary to abridge rights, which you have just as much right to abridge on the borders as in the interior, the necessity is the same in one case as in the other; and it is as absolutely necessary to prescribe the relations along the borders as in the interior. I hope this has been overlooked by the brethren who have brought in that report; perhaps in making out these resolutions they have taken the worst course arbitrators can take, *splitting the difference*. This is always a bad plan where

a great principle is concerned, as one side must be right. I remember an anecdote of Dr. More's, respecting some travellers who were descending the Alps, and were told by their guides, at a certain part of undercrust in the declivity, to give the reins to the mules, with the assurance that they would safely slide down. One, however, perceived a tree that seemed to be in his path, and he thought he would meet the difficulty half way, and guide his animal a little, and by thus *splitting the difference* he ran against the tree. Now, sir, if you attempt to split the difference, you run against the tree. I go for any measure of peace; but I think if we pass this our people will accuse us of the abridgment of their rights and privileges for the sake of upholding an abstract principle.

Mr. Collins said, he belonged to a part slaveholding and a part non-slaveholding country. He in connection with others sought some common ground, on which they could all meet and unite in kind and fraternal feelings. They were not able it seemed to come to that ground. He had mentioned at the time of the vote on Bishop Andrew's case that he should move a reconsideration; and he had done so with the intention, that if any measure could be proposed which would render that action unnecessary, they might recall it. He had seen no such measure yet, and therefore had not moved a reconsideration. He thought the report contained the best proposition under the circumstances, and they were not prepared to throw out any thing which would tend to heal the breach. He hoped they would not come to a separation at all. The southern brethren had taken such ground before them, and they were well known to be men of integrity, as well as talents and piety, and had taken a strong hold upon their people, so that if the evil could be averted he believed it would be. But, if it must come, let there be a *pro rata* division of the concern. The preachers would have to let the members decide the question for themselves.

Mr. Porter said the committee had presented that report as the best thing that could be done under the circumstances. The time was coming when separation must take place. The difficulty was greater now than it was four years ago, and would increase. If there were defects in the document, they could arrest it in the annual conferences. The South could take no action upon it until the annual conferences had decided respecting the sixth rule; and if, when they got home, and calmly and deliberately examined it, they found any thing radically wrong, let them stop it in their annual conferences. The document would be printed and published; so that they would have ample opportunity, and better than they could possibly have now of judging of its real merits.

On motion, the previous question was tried and voted for, by 146 ayes,

and 23 noes. But Dr. Paine moved a reconsideration to make an amendment, by striking out delegates and inserting conferences; after which Mr. Sanford obtained the floor, and opposed the passage of the report and resolutions. He said the amendment did not affect the views he entertained respecting the measure. He was aware that he should stand in a very small minority, but that did not at all affect his determination. He had no wish to throw brethren into circumstances requiring a separation; nor did he desire, if separation were really and absolutely necessary, to refuse them their portion of the property of the Church. But there was in his estimation a great difference between telling brethren when they had separated they should have their portion, and opening the door and inviting them to separate. Of the latter character he believed this measure. When they had taken their course, it would be time enough to tell them what they would do. If they had separated, however, he must be convinced that they did it of necessity. In his opinion the course now proposed was an encouragement to separation. With these views he should record his name in opposition to the whole procedure. He must do so, so far as he had a personal responsibility, as the only way in which he could clear his own conscience in the sight of Heaven in respect to this measure.

The conference then adjourned to half past 3 o'clock.

Afternoon Session. After some explanatory conversation, Dr. Peck and Dr. Elliott were placed on the committee on the protest of the Southern Conferences, *vice* Dr. Hamline elected to the episcopacy, and Dr. Olin gone home.

The report of the committee of nine was then taken up, and adopted as far as section nine.

On section 10 being read, Mr. Randall moved an amendment to the effect that the Church in the South should have a common right to use the copy-right of any works in the possession of the conference at the time of the settlement of the pecuniary affairs by the commissioners. Adopted.

Dr. Durbin. He had been laboring under a misapprehension in the matter of this report. He had understood that this action was to commence in the South, if after the Southern brethren returned home they found it necessary. But, by the resolution, it was contemplated to begin this action next week at the New York Annual Conference. This had its disadvantages. The leading conferences would have to decide under the existing state of excitement; and then it was possible, when the brethren returned to their people, they might find this arrangement unnecessary. He would amend so as to commence this action at the

South. There might be difficulties at present in getting the requisite number of votes; but when the South had taken action, and thus proved its necessity, there would be additional reason for the brethren in the North being in favor of it. He would substitute New Jersey Conference for New-York.

Dr. Paine said, the brother must have greatly misunderstood him if such was the impression he had received from his speech, or else he said what he did not design to say. He said that the subject would go round before it came to the South. If this amendment were adopted, it would be twelve months before it was laid before all the annual conferences, and at least twelve months more before it was settled. Whereas if it began at once, in twelve months' time they should know whether they had leave peaceably to separate. He hoped it would not be postponed. The matter had been adequately represented.

Dr. Capers said he appreciated Dr. Durbin's object and motives, and wished that the Church at home was as calm as the Doctor seemed to apprehend; but it would at once be seen by brethren that this was a compromise measure, designed to effect that peaceably which otherwise he feared would be done violently. Every mail increased the apprehension of the southern brethren. If the General Conference would put their plan into such operation as would show that they meditated action upon the subject, it would materially tend to measures of peace and tranquility. The brethren did not know the state of things in the South. He should feel thankful to God if that portion of the Church could be by any means preserved from violent disruption. The southern brethren had, he knew, taxed the charity of the brethren composing that conference in their statements relative to their position with their people. It was thought they spoke without calmness and deliberation. The truth, however was, that they stood like men at the death. If the conference suspended action too long, it would come too late, and would not save them. O! that they could pour some oil on the troubled feelings of the South! O! that they could cause these waves to be still! He knew of nothing so likely to do this as the passage, cordially and as brethren, of the resolution now before them.

Mr. Ruter, appreciating the feelings of the South, wished to amend the amendment, by substituting the Kentucky Conference for the New-Jersey Conference, which he understood to be the first conference in the South.

Dr. Winans gave the history of the matter in committee. It would be observed that there was only one provision of the whole report that went to the annual conferences; and that merely authorized, should occasion occur, the proceeds of the Book Concern otherwise than was now ap-

appropriated. They were not sending round to the annual conferences any proposition in which the action of the South in reference to the separation was concerned. The only proposition was that they might have liberty, if necessary, to organize a separate conference; and it was important that the South should know, at an early period, that they had such liberty in order to allay the intense excitement which prevailed in that portion of the work.

Dr. Durbin at this stage of the proceedings withdrew his amendment.

Dr. Luckey then moved to strike out "New-York."

Mr. Hamline would state the views of the committee on the subject. They had carefully avoided presenting any resolution which would embrace the idea of separation or division. The article which was referred to the annual conference had not necessarily any connection with division. It was thought, as complaints were abroad respecting the present mode of appropriating the proceeds of the Book Concern, it would be for the general good that the power to appropriate such proceeds should be put in the power of a two-thirds vote, instead of in the power of a mere majority, thus making it more difficult to make a wrong appropriation. And the occasion of this report was taken hold of by the committee to make it more difficult to misappropriate the funds, in which they believed they should serve both the particular object of the report and the general good of the M. E. Church.

Mr. McFerrin presumed that there were none there who would withhold from the South their share in the Book Concern; and he therefore could not see what harm there could be in passing this resolution, which he believed would go through the annual conferences almost without a dissenting voice. And if after it came round to the South, they saw it unnecessary to organize a separate conference, why then no mischief would have been done. And as it could do us no harm, but must and would do them great good, he hoped there would be no opposition to it.

Mr. Coleman supported the amendment.

Mr. Fillmore said he was not prepared to stand there and say what his conference would do with the resolutions when they came before it, but he was quite sure his conference would do what was just and honest toward their brethren. He would further remark that the views of the committee had been fully and clearly explained. Their design was to put a restriction upon the General Conference, and to make a two-thirds vote necessary to all appropriations of the produce of the Book Concern, instead of a majority only. The whole of the southern delegates who had spoken at all had declared it to be their honest conviction that the cause of God required immediate action on the part of

the North; and if they were convinced that immediate action would relieve the South, they all went for relief.

Mr. Drake opposed the amendment.

The original resolution was then adopted.

Dr. Bangs moved that the blank in the 7th resolution be filled. Adopted.

Dr. Bangs, Dr. Peck, and Mr. Finley were appointed as the commissioners on the part of the General Conference, and the report was adopted.

On motion of Dr. Winans, the secretary was instructed to furnish Mr. Early with an authenticated copy of the report, and the declaration the report was based upon.

On motion of Dr. Luckey, the Bishops were requested to ordain the newly-elected Bishops on Monday, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

Mr. Drake offered a resolution that the papers and periodicals under the patronage of the General Conference be requested not to say any thing on the exciting subjects that have agitated this conference. The motion was laid on the table by a large majority.

Mr. Early moved that they now proceed with the order of the day, viz, the election of officers. Adopted. And the conference adjourned.

Monday, June 10.

On motion, the business of the conference was suspended until after the ordination.

By ten o'clock the galleries of the church were filled with spectators, in expectation of the ordination service, and before eleven o'clock the space beyond the bar was filled. The bishops elect were in the house in the early part of the morning, grave and thoughtful.

Bishop Soule addressing the audience said, He presumed that the conference and all persons assembled would be deeply impressed with the occasion on which they were entering. He hoped all would compose themselves as far as possible, and enter into the spirit of prayer for which the occasion so loudly called,

Six chairs having been placed in front of the altar, Mr. Hamline, at the invitation of Bishop Soule, took his seat, with Mr. Pickering on his right and Mr. Fillmore on his left. Dr. Janes followed, also taking his seat in front of the altar, with Dr. Pierce on his right and Dr. Capers on his left. Bishop Waugh offered up the introductory prayer and read

Acts xx, 17-35. Bishop Morris read the Gospel, John xxi, 15, and following verses, and Mathew xxiii, 18, and following verses.

Mr. Pickering then presented Mr. Hamline to the episcopacy, and Dr. Pierce presented Dr. Janes, each saying as he did so, "We present this holy man to be ordained a bishop." Bishop Soule then offered up prayer and put the usual questions to the candidates, which were answered by them with much solemnity and feeling, Mr. Hamline being powerfully affected, even to tears.

The deepest silence and almost hallowed feeling pervaded the large assembly. Bishop Hedding having offered the prayer following the examination, the candidates knelt before the altar, and the Bishops unitedly laying their hands on each successively, Bishop Hedding pronounced the awful and thrilling words, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost" &c., and delivered the ordination charge, the candidates, as usual, each placing his right hand on the Bible.

The bishop then offered up the concluding prayer and benediction, after which the bishops respectively gave the right hand of friendship to their newly elected brethren, who were conducted within the altar and took their seats on the left of the president, Bishop Waugh, who then occupied the chair.

The ordination being over, which occupied exactly half an hour, the conference proceeded with their business.

The nomination of an editor of the Sunday School Advocate gave rise to some discussion.

A resolution was passed some days ago, on the recommendation of the Sunday school committee, providing an editor for the Sunday school exclusively. An opposition was now made by Mr. Collins to the nomination of such editor, and supported by several of the members.

Dr. Peck, Mr. Fitch Reed, and Mr. Early strongly pressed the absolute necessity of such an appointment, and of a general improvement in our Sunday school literature, as several schools were compelled, after exhausting our catalogue, to go to other denominations for books.

Mr. Collins pressed his opposition, on the authority of Dr. Bond and Mr. Sanford, both of whom said the office was unnecessary.

Mr. Crowder was in favor, and a motion that had been made by Mr. Green, to reconsider the vote appointing such editor, was laid on the table.

Mr. Green then moved the reconsideration of the vote appointing an assistant editor to the New-York Christian Advocate and Journal, with a view, it was understood, to give the Sunday school department to Mr. Coles.

Dr. Bangs was in favor of the reconsideration. He thought an assistant editor to a weekly paper quite unnecessary.

Dr. Bond explained the duties of each editorial department, and said it was impossible for one editor alone to conduct that paper successfully. But the assistant editor might also attend to the Sunday school department, and any deficiency in that department was not the fault of Mr. Coles and himself, who had neglected no manuscript that had been sent to them. But they had not understood that they were to provide original matter. He would take upon himself to say that the Sunday School Advocate was the best paper of the kind in the United States, and he would say it freely, because the credit was not due to himself. To take away one of the editors of the New-York Christian Advocate and Journal would be to place it in great jeopardy. The senior editor had to supply the editorials, to read a great part of the manuscripts, not only those which went into the paper, but also those which were rejected, attend to the exchange lists, furnish the foreign and domestic intelligence, &c., &c. Who then was to attend to the other matters pertaining to the paper, such as making selections, arranging the articles, abridging the obituary notices, examining the proofs, &c., &c. Still they could do all that was wanted in the way of Sunday school books.

Dr. Winans thought an assistant editor was necessary. All the great papers had two or more editors. The N. Y. Christian Advocate and Journal was the leading paper of the connection, and supplied much of the matter for their other papers. It ought to combine extensive information and extensive original views. But he was not opposed to having an editor for the Sunday school department, though he thought if all the editors did what they ought to do, there were plenty of them.

Mr. Early was in favor of reconsideration, and of having only one editor, as with their other Methodist paper.

Dr. Bangs rose and spoke for a few minutes strongly against having an assistant editor, when the hour of adjournment having come, the conference adjourned to half past three.

Afternoon Session. — Mr. Redman moved that the Book Agent be directed to pay to Wm. Patton the sum of \$15, to defray his expenses while sick. Adopted.

The business before the conference when they adjourned, viz — the dispensing with the assistant editor of the Christian Advocate — was taken up.

Dr. Bangs pursued his remarks, and moved that there be one editor for the Advocate, and one for the Sunday school books. The conference at length decided to appoint an editor for the Sunday school de-

partment, and Messrs. D. P. Kidder, of New-Jersey, Joseph Longking, of New-York, J. Kennaday, of the Philadelphia Conference, and Abel Stevens, of Boston, were put in nomination. Mr. Kidder was elected.

Mr. Porter moved the appointment of a committee to estimate the expenses of the book agents, editors, &c. On motion the salaries were ordered to be fixed for four years, and a committee selected from the locality of the respective Book Concerns.

New York Committee — A Griffith, P. P. Sandford, Isaac Winner, James Porter, Dr. Bangs.

Cincinnati Committee — E. W. Sehon, J. B. Finley, T. Crouch, P. Cartwright, W. H. Raper.

A motion was then made to fix the place of meeting for the next General Conference. Invitations were read from New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Louisville, St. Louis, Pittsburg, &c.

Mr. Brush, advocated Louisville, and Mr. Cartwright spoke in favor of Pittsburg. The vote was in favor of Pittsburg.

So the General Conference are directed to meet in Pittsburg in 1848.

Several other resolutions were offered and disposed of. Among them was one recommending that the annual conferences be instructed to take into consideration the propriety of reinstating in the Discipline Mr. Wesley's rule against drunkenness, or buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity. It was adopted — ayes 99, noes 33.

Mr. Early offered a resolution, —

That it requires two-thirds of all the members of the General Conference to alter or recommend a change in the restrictive rules.

The resolution was lost, the vote being ayes 50, noes 90.

Bishop Soule mentioned to the conference that he held in his hand a letter addressed to the Bishops. It was signed by Dr. Bascom, and referred to the protest recorded by him and fifty other members against the vote of the conference in Bishop Andrew's case.

For himself, and in behalf of his colleagues, Bishop Soule requested that the letter might be spread upon the journals, to accompany the protest.

The Case of Bishop Andrew. — Dr. Durbin obtained leave to read the report of the committee appointed to prepare a statement of facts in relation to the action of the conference in Bishop Andrew's case.

Evening Session. — The report of Dr. Durbin, which was under consideration when they adjourned, was taken up, and a motion for its adoption made.

Mr. Crowder could not let that motion pass without expressing his

sentiments on the subject. As the matter stood before that report was brought in, he had hoped that they might yet avoid division. The passage of that report would render division inevitable. They had no choice left. And there were statements in that report which were contrary to fact. Before that hour he had never heard that the characters of class-leaders were examined into at the quarterly conferences. There were statements also in reference to Bishop Andrew which had never been made known to the conference before, and on the general question of the connection of slavery with the M. E. Church, there were positions taken by that report to the truth of which he could not subscribe. The document he could not but regard as an insult to the whole South. Mr. C. then repeated, with much earnestness and warmth, his convictions as to the evil and disastrous consequences that would result from the publication of such a document by the General Conference, and declared he should not be surprised at its leading to a civil war, so utterly did it deny the rights and trample upon the feelings of all the slaveholding states.

Mr. Early begged the brethren not hastily to adopt this report. Some thought his brother from Virginia was excited; for himself he was calm and collected, but he never had such sad and fearful forebodings as he had experienced since he came into that evening session. He denounced as a thing unheard of before in the M. E. Church, the examination into the character of a class-leader at the quarterly conference. Already the South was in a flame in consequence of the past action of that conference, and this reply to the protest was calculated more than anything to increase the dissatisfaction of the Southern churches. He denied the right of a majority to take such a course. The eyes of the brethren had never fallen upon a page where the protest of a minority was so treated. And the report mistated facts. Three doctors of the M. E. Church came before the world, and proclaimed that the characters of class-leaders were examined into by the quarterly conferences! He never heard such a statement before.

Hitherto things had gone on as pleasantly as they could expect, except the exhibition in the selection of the editor of the Richmond Christian Advocate, which might be fun to them, but to the South was death. After all it was said to be founded only in a little mischief. He should have been rejoiced to have gone home prepared to say that the brethren down east and those of similar sentiment had by common consent agreed to a division of the Church, and that being free from this difficulty of slavery themselves, they were prepared to aid the South in any measure which would relieve them from their difficulties; and thus they

should remain members of one family, and love as brethren. Yet the South was in a high state of excitement. He (the speaker) had now in his pocket a letter from one of the first merchants in Richmond, mentioning the fact, that the excitement was such that the most influential men in the city declared in the public market that if those men who had denounced Bishop Andrew and the South were to visit that city it would be impossible to secure them safety from the indignation of the people. A mass meeting had been held, and it was said that when gentlemen applied for admission they were refused on the ground that it was a meeting of the society alone. Let that protest go forth as it was, and he could tell the two doctors and the president of one of their universities that they had sounded the death-knell of the union of the Church! Adopt it and enter it upon your records, and to all intents and purposes this would be the case. He expected to shake hands with many whom he loved, but with whom he now met for the last time in General Conference. Let the circumstances connected with the action of the conference in relation to Bishop Andrew go forth with all his heart, but it was unparalleled that such a reply should be made to a simple protest. What would be thought, if in the supreme courts of the United States, or in the courts of England, when one of the judges had entered his protest against any decision, the others should publish a lengthened reply to such a protest?

Dr. Bangs rose to a point of order. He inquired whether it was in order to debate this matter. The protest was allowed to go quietly upon the records.

Bishop Wough reminded him that a motion was made for spreading it upon the journals.

Dr. Longstreet said the difference in the two cases was obvious. It was the right of the minority, which the majority could not control, to place their protest upon the journal. It was not the right of the conference to appoint a committee to reply to the protest.

Dr. Peck wished to make an explanation, which would relieve the difficulty.

Dr. Longstreet did not mean to make an elaborate speech, but to state some facts that ought to go forth to the world in connection with these extraordinary proceedings. Some of the facts connected with the case the committee had either forgotten to state, or had stated in such a way that they would make a false impression. The first question was, What was the report designed for? There could be but one or two interpretations put upon it. Either it was designed to convict Bishop Andrew of duplicity, or to present to the public the grounds on which the decis-

ion of the conference had been made. And he would ask whether it was fair, equitable; or just, to argue for twelve days on one state of facts; and then, after their decision was made, to bring in a report of another? All these legal inferences they had nothing to do with. They must take the statement of Bishop Andrew, remembering too that he had solemnly declared before them, that he could not in his conscience deprive his wife of her property, simply because he had married her. Suppose all the things which they pretended to have found out since, were true, and that Bishop Andrew was the owner of the slaves; would it be fair to bring that matter in now? It was not once said in all that report that he could emancipate them. He boldly asserted that Bishop Andrew did not own the slaves. If he should get in debt, they might possibly be taken for his debts, and that was suggested to him; but there is no fear on that point, for he don't intend to go in debt. But it is not true that the slaves belong to him. How far his creditors might assert a claim to them might be a grave question; but as between his children and his wife in case of his death he maintained that they would go to her, and not to his children. If he had violated their discipline, they were bound to dismiss him. But he had not done so, and they had not attempted to prove that he had.

Dr. Smith said, that creditors in Georgia had peculiar claims over and above children and heirs.

Dr. Elliott thought the course proposed by the committee was agreeable to the strictest rules. The minority had a right to present their protest without debate, and the majority had an equal right to present their reply to that protest without debate.

Dr. Smith called for a case in proof.

Mr. Collins said, the report was not a protest, but necessarily a document coming from a committee.

Mr. Slicer inquired whether it was in order to insert and print a document before it was adopted.

Bishop Waugh thought the conference had a right to their own judgment. They might decline to adopt, but might wish to spread it on the journals, and present it before the public.

Mr. Ames also defended the report, on the ground that other ecclesiastical tribunals pursued the same course the conference were following in this case, and which they ought to have adopted in former actions of theirs on individual cases.

Dr. Durbin said, the committee did not look upon the protest in the minority as a protest, but as an elaborate argumentation of the case, and they thought that a minority had no right to an argumentation in

their protest. In this he spoke the sentiments of his former colleagues in committee, Drs. Olin and Hamline. They also thought the majority expected them to reply to it. He and his present colleagues would however consent to the omission from their report of some of its features, which had been strongly objected to. One was an assertion, which the opposition had pointed out as unheard of before on the conference floor, that the character of class leaders was examined in the quarterly conference; and the other a suppositious case as to Bishop Andrew being called up at the next General Conference, if he continued to exercise his functions. He never dreamt of such a thing as that the majority would adopt the report, but that they would place it on the journal by the side of the protest, without debate. He did not think that the protest would go out to the world, and he was sorry that it had ever been put in print. If it had not been published, then there would have been no necessity for printing this reply.

Dr. Peck said he consented to the erasure of that part of the report, not because he relinquished the principle, but because he thought it might perhaps be better to leave it out of the report. He also consented to the alteration of the statement as to the class leaders.

Dr. Smith said he did not pretend to very accurate information on the subject of the rights of minorities to present their protests, &c.; but it was the first time in his life that he had heard that the protestants had no right to the arguments on which their protest was founded. He denied that Dr. Olin, whose literary reputation he felt bound to defend in his absence, could by any possibility have uttered the sentiments which Dr. Durbin had attributed to him in reference to the right of a majority in regard to a protest. Dr. D. must have misunderstood Dr. Olin, because that gentleman had, only a short time before he left, expressed exactly the contrary opinion to him in reference to a protest he (Dr. S.) was then preparing. He did so in reply to an inquiry, fully and clearly, and out of regard to Dr. Olin's reputation he could not let Dr. Durbin's remarks pass without this reply. He argued that there was no necessity to pass a resolution to enter that paper on the journal; for the moment the President received that paper it was to be entered on the journal. There was no need to order it to be printed, for that would be done under a former order of this conference. He contended that the object of the motion was to have the report adopted by this conference. That was what he wanted them to do, for it was what they believed. He wanted them to sign their names to that paper, and let it go out to the world. They had attempted to gull the public long enough, and he now wanted them to show their hands, and tell the five

hundred thousand Methodists at the South what they intended to do.

Mr. Perkins here moved the previous question, and Mr. Crowder called for the ayes and noes; and the motion to spread the report on the journal was carried, there being in the affirmative 116, and in the negative 26.

It being now a very late hour in the evening, and the conference anxious to adjourn *sine die*, having been so long absent from their charges and their families, the remainder of the night was taken up by the adoption of reports, and the passage of sundry resolutions. The following is the routine:—

Report on missions taken from the table and adopted.

Drs. Peck, Bangs, and Bond were appointed a committee to prepare the revised Discipline for publication.

Mr. Early offered a resolution, that in case a separation of the Church should take place, the Liberia Mission Conference be included in the southern division. Laid on the table.

The report of the committee on the Bible cause was taken up and adopted.

Dr. Ducky offered a resolution leaving Bishop Hedding at liberty to perform only so much work as his health will permit. Adopted.

Mr. G. F. Pierce offered a resolution declaring that the conference, by ordering the reply to the southern protest to be placed on the journal, had sanctioned and indorsed that reply. Laid on the table.

Mr. Wightman offered a resolution, that the Bishop, who may preside at the next meeting of the Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama Conferences, shall appoint a superintendent of the missions among the colored people within the limits of these conferences. Adopted.

Dr. Bascom, from the committee on education, submitted a brief report, which was adopted.

Mr. Slicer submitted resolutions thanking the secretary and assistant secretaries for the faithful manner in which they have performed their duties, and also thanking the Methodists of New-York City for their hospitality to the members of the conference. Adopted.

Mr. Smith presented a protest, signed by himself against the action of the conference in the case of Francis A. Harding. The Chair decided that Mr. Smith had a right to put this protest on the journal, if he wished to do so. From this decision Mr. Collins took an appeal, and it was reversed by a large majority, when it was voted that Mr. Smith have leave to withdraw his protest.

Mr. Dow offered a resolution expressing the thanks of the conference for the use of the church in which the body had held its session, and in-

structing the Book Agent to settle with the trustees and the sexton.
Adopted.

A vote of thanks was passed to Daniel Drew, Esq., for his kind offer to convey the Northern and Western members in the people's line of steamboats to Albany, free of charge.

On motion of Mr. Cartwright, the journal of the evening's proceedings was read and approved; and then, at a quarter past 12 o'clock, after prayer by Mr. Dunwody, of South Carolina, the conference adjourned *sine die*.

REVIEW

OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE LATE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE M. E. CHURCH.

INTRODUCTORY.

Observing minds, who have any knowledge of the events which led to the late secessions from the M. E. Church, resulting in the organization of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, and of the present state and progress of the principles upon which the new movement is founded, will not doubt that there was a connection between these things, and the action of the late General Conference on the subject of slavery. If then our existence and operations gave being to such proceedings, and if they were, as no one can doubt, designed to affect us, and operate as a check to our future progress and success, we are at once interested, and have not only an undoubted right but a good reason for reviewing those proceedings, and spreading before our readers their true designs, character and probable results. The proceedings, as a whole, cannot be interpreted creditable to the common understanding of the actors, only by reference to the peculiar circumstances in which the Conference found itself on coming together. The church embraces in its widely extended communion, the two extremes on the subject of slavery: those who believe that slavery is an institution of divine origin, wearing the seal of God's approbation, and those who believe that it is sin under all circumstances, disqualifying those who practice it for membership in any Christian church. To legislate for a community composed of such opposite elements so as to give satisfaction to all parties would be a difficult task under the most favorable circumstances, but in this case it was greatly embarrassed by the peculiar position of the parties and the position of leading individual actors with reference to the parties. In the North they had not recovered from the alarm produced by the trump of secession, which had first sounded only about eighteen months previously, and which, to appearance, was heard with as much consternation as though it had been a signal for the crack of doom. As secession was urged mainly on the ground that slavery was tolerated in the Church, and as the anti-slavery feeling, out of which this grew, was rapidly in-

creasing and spreading in community. there was no hope of checking it by opposing the principles which led to it, and the only measure that could promise success, was to admit the wrong of slavery in the Church, and promise to correct it, and then make the hope thus inspired, that the Church would be soon freed from slavery, the ground of an argument why men ought not to leave it. In carrying out this plan of opposing secession, large promises were made to the anti-slavery portions of the Church, that great things should be done against slavery in the next General Conference. While this tended to put off secession for the present, it deepened the anti-slavery feeling, and ripened the feeling that secession would be right if nothing should be done at the General Conference.

While the above operation was going on in the North, the South were given to understand that secession was doing nothing, only ridding the Church of a few restless "radical-abolition spirits," who had made all the trouble, and that having retired from the Church in despair, they should have peace, and rest from the abolition strife. Thus the Conference came together, the North expecting that more would be done on the subject of slavery than had ever been attempted before, while the South expected less, having been told secession amounted to just enough to relieve the Church of the disturbers of the patriarchal institution. To increase the embarrassment, the question of slavery was in two different ways thrust into their deliberations, which defied their skill to evade or power to resist. The appeal of Mr. Harding and the case of Bishop Andrew compelled the Conference to act on the subject, and to do it so as to give satisfaction to the North, who had been promised that every thing should be done, and, at the same time, satisfy the South, who had been assured that nothing would be done, was not an easy task. Such were the circumstances under which the General Conference found themselves, and their object appears to have been so to run between the two parties as to please neither, and thereby drive neither off; to do this they had to exert their skill to see how little they could do, and still do something on one hand, and yet see how much they could do, and still do nothing on the other hand. This is the best apology we can make for the do-much-do-nothing action of the last General Conference, and after these brief remarks on the circumstances in which they were placed we will proceed to examine the action itself. We will examine the proceedings of the Conference in the order in which they transpired.

SECTION 1.

The first case was the appeal of Mr. Harding from the decision of the Baltimore Annual Conference. This was an appeal from a judgment of suspension from the functions of the ministry, on a charge of having violated the rule of Discipline on the subject of slaveholding by the ministry. The rule may be found in the Discipline, part 2d, Sec. 10. Ans. 2d, and reads as follows:—

“When any traveling preacher becomes the owner of a slave or slaves, by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our church, unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the State in which he lives.”

The simple facts in the case were, Mr. Harding had married a lady who was possessed of slaves, by which he became connected with slavery. The case was, in itself, a simple one, turning wholly on one question, namely: Was it *practicable* for him to emancipate his slaves in the sense of the rule? If it was practicable, he was condemned by the law of the Church; if it was not practicable, he stood acquitted by the law of the Church. This being the point on which the merits of the case depend, it is necessary to review the action with reference to this point, in order properly to understand the amount of true anti-slavery contained in it. Our readers will bear in mind that the object of this review is not so much to exhibit the legality or illegality, the merits or demerits of the action of the Conference upon general principles, as to ascertain how far the action of the Conference had its origin in, and was a development of the true anti-slavery principle. The question with us is not so much whether the proceedings were Methodistically lawful, as whether they were truly anti-slavery. Yet it cannot fail to be seen, that the correctness of the proceedings in view of the Methodist Discipline, must have a bearing on their anti-slavery character in the minds of those concerned. The action and decision in the case were Methodically right or wrong, and if in our review, we reason concerning its anti-slavery character upon the supposition that it was Methodically correct, our opponents may assume that it was wrong, and so evade the force of our conclusions; and if we reason upon the supposition that it was Methodically wrong, which is our opinion, our opponents will assume that it was right, and in that way escape our conclusions. Under these circumstances, to avoid making our conclusion rest upon an argument to prove the legality or illegality of the proceedings, in view of Methodist law, about which Methodists themselves differ, we will test the anti-slavery character of the proceedings on both suppositions, which will

leave no chance for either party to escape without meeting the true issue. We will show what the anti-slavery character of the proceedings was, if they were right by the law of the Church, and what the anti-slavery character of the proceedings was, if they were unlawful, or not sustained by the law of the Church.

Suppose then the majority of the Conference were right in their decision in the case of Mr. Harding; suppose the law of the Church and the facts in the case warranted such a decision, what then is its anti-slavery merit? We say there is no anti-slavery merit in it; by it the Church has not advanced one step in anti-slavery from her former positions. If the decision was according to law, then it must be true that it was practicable for Mr. Harding to emancipate his slaves, for the law requires emancipation. The only merit that can be claimed from this act, is that of carrying out the rule of the Church, and if it be insisted that this was doing any thing against slavery, more than has heretofore been done, the following consequences must follow:—

1. The Church has heretofore neglected to enforce this part of her Discipline, and has suffered traveling preachers to hold slaves when it was practicable to emancipate them. If the Church has heretofore enforced this rule, and not suffered preachers to hold slaves, when emancipation has been practicable, the fact that she has now done it in a single case, entitles her to no new anti-slavery character, and furnishes no proof that she has taken one step in anti-slavery in advance of her former positions. Nor does the action in this case, justify the assertion that the General Conference did any thing against slavery, in the sense in which it was promised and expected before the Conference assembled. When the preachers said to those who were inclined to secede, Wait, and the General Conference will do something against slavery; and when the people said, We will secede if nothing is done by the next General Conference against slavery, the meaning was that the Conference should do something more than had been heretofore done; but if the Church has been in the habit of enforcing this rule, *nothing* was done in the sense in which something was promised and expected, so far as the Harding case is concerned; absolutely *nothing*. No advancement then can be claimed in anti-slavery from the Harding case, only upon the supposition that the Church has heretofore neglected to enforce the rule in question, and allowed of just such slaveholding as that for which Mr. Harding has been suspended, which of itself will be no great credit to the Church, but which will contradict the oft repeated assertions of Bishop Hedding and other leading ministers, that Methodists hold slaves in the South only so far as the laws prohibit emancipation.

2. If it were a fact that the action of the General Conference in the Harding case was the result of increased anti-slavery in the Church, on the ground that the rule had not been previously enforced, it follows that the minority, embracing all the delegates from slaveholding States insisted on a continued violation of the rule, and for the right of ministers to hold slaves in violation of law and justice both. If the decision was according to law and fact, then the South went against the law; and if it was practicable for Mr. Harding to emancipate his slaves, then the South went for the toleration of clerical slaveholding when it is practicable to emancipate, for they went for the toleration of Mr. Harding's slaveholding. And if this action, on the part of the North, was taking an advanced position in anti-slavery, on the ground that the rule had not been enforced in past time, it follows that as oft as abolitionists have asserted that the Discipline is a dead letter on the subject of slavery in the South, they have told the truth; and as oft as these opposers, among whom have been bishops and leading ministers, have contradicted them, they have told what was not true. If the action was according to law, no new anti-slavery merit can be claimed only on the ground that slavery has been wont to trample upon the law, and that the increased anti-slavery has now for the first time put it in force, which absolutely contradicts all the positions and assertions of the opposers of abolition in the church, for they have from the beginning, and with one accord, affirmed that the Discipline was enforced on the subject of slavery in the South; and they have accused the abolitionists in the Church of falsehood and slander when they affirmed that the rules were not enforced against slavery. Will they take all this back, admit that these rules have been trampled upon by slavery, up to this date, and justify us in our positions, for which they once condemned us? We shall see. They must do all this, in order to screw out any new anti-slavery merit from the Harding case, if they claim that the action was just what and no more than the law of the Church required.

Such are some of the consequences which must follow the position that the action of the General Conference in the Harding case was according to the law of the Church and yet anti-slavery beyond the former positions of the Church, and we see not how our opponents can evade these consequences, without giving up the claim of any new anti-slavery merit.

They may assume that the action was lawful, and that it was a step in anti-slavery not before taken, on the ground that the law was never before violated, calling for such action. This is perfectly supposable, but takes away all claim to new anti-slavery merit. In such case there

was no more anti-slavery in the action than in the law, and of course no more in the conference acting than in the conference that made the law; while the fact that the law had not been violated up to this time, and has now been violated, proves that there is more pro-slavery in the Church than there has heretofore been. In such case the action is not an evidence of increased anti-slavery, but the result of increased pro-slavery; it is slavery therefore that has advanced in the Church, and not anti-slavery, if this be the ground of defence set up against the above reasoning and conclusions.

Another view of the subject may help to settle the anti-slavery merits of the action of the Conference in the Harding case. The question at issue is not so much whether the decision was anti-slavery, as whether it was something new, in advance of the former anti-slavery of the Church. This point may be settled by ascertaining what would have been the position of the Conference, if the action had been withheld, or the decision had been different. We reason upon the supposition that the action was lawful, that is, no more than what the law required. Then the facts are, Mr. Harding became a slaveholder in violation of the Discipline, for which his annual conference called him to an account and justly and lawfully suspended him, and he appealed to the General Conference, which boldly confirmed the decision, and this is claimed as a great advance of anti-slavery. But could the Conference have done otherwise? To be sure the Conference might have rejected the appeal, as they did the appeal of Silas Comfort, in 1840, but in so doing, they would have violated law, as we believe they did in that case. But could they not, on the hearing of the appeal, have decided otherwise, and reversed the decision of the Baltimore Conference? Most surely they could, but not without violating the law, for the express purpose of supporting a man, a minister, in slaveholding, and that too in violation of the rules of the Church. Can an act which could not have been omitted without such fatal pro-slavery consequence, be urged as proof of a great anti-slavery advancement? If the Church can claim new anti-slavery merit because she refuses by a solemn decision to sustain clerical slaveholding in violation of her own rules, she must just have escaped from a state which would have enabled her to do such a dark deed. Will our opponents take the consequence? The Conference could not have decided otherwise, without committing the above specified crime, and if the fact that they did not commit that crime is the result of increased anti-slavery, they must have heretofore been pro-slavery enough to have done it.

One more exhibition of this view of the subject, and we will dismiss

it. Those who maintain that the decision of the General Conference in the Harding case was according to law and facts, cannot claim that it proves any new anti-slavery feeling on the part of the Conference. The Conference in that trial acted in a judicial capacity, and not in legislative capacity; hence the decision was not an expression of their views of the moral character of slavery, but of what was the meaning of the Discipline. In making up their decision two points, and two only, were involved, namely: Has Mr. Harding done the thing laid to his charge, and if so, is it a violation of the law of the Church? The question was not, Is the slaveholding of Mr. Harding morally wrong, but is it a violation of the Methodist Discipline? The decision, if they acted as honest judges, was graduated by their views of the Discipline, and not by their views of the moral character of the slaveholding. The question was, Has Mr. Harding violated the law? and not, Is the law right or wrong? If members believe such slaveholding to be right, still they were bound to condemn the accused, if they believed it a violation of Discipline. On the other hand, if members believed such slaveholding to be wrong, still they were bound to clear the accused, if they believe the Discipline tolerated it. To deny this would be to say that in Church trials, men are not bound to condemn or acquit, as the law of the Church condemns or acquits, but that they are at liberty to disregard the law, and be governed by their own opinions, as the law in the case. It is clear therefore, that no action of the Conference, in a judicial capacity, can be taken as furnishing the least evidence of the pro-slavery or anti-slavery feeling of the members, so long as we suppose them to aim at being governed by the law in the case. To suppose that the decision was the result of increased anti-slavery sentiment and feeling, is to suppose either that the Conference would at an earlier period have violated the law to have sustained clerical slaveholding, or else, that their new anti-slavery feeling carried them beyond law, and led them to condemn Mr. Harding contrary to law, whereas we are now reasoning upon the supposition that the judgment was according to law.

We will rest this part of our argument here, feeling confident that we have shown that the action of the General Conference in the appeal of Mr. Harding, furnishes not the least evidence of increased anti-slavery on the part of the Conference, on the supposition that such action was according to law and facts.

It remains to examine the anti-slavery character of the proceedings, on the supposition that they were not sustained by the law of the Church. This is the position taken by the Southern delegates; and all who voted in the minority, did it from a real or pretended belief that the law of

the Church did sustain just such slaveholding as that for which Mr. Harding was tried and suspended, and we suppose they will claim that the Conference became so infected with abolition as to condemn slaveholding in violation of their own laws. We agree with the South in this opinion. We believe that the Discipline of the Church does sustain just such slaveholding as that for which Mr. Harding was condemned, but we are not disposed to argue this point, as it is not in the least essential to our present object. But we do not believe that the General Conference were led to the decision from being infected with abolition. It was not because they were *infected*, but because they were *affected* by abolition. The demand was so loud at the North for anti-slavery action and so many were talking of leaving the Church, if something was not done against slavery, a contrary decision would have been fatal to many parts of the Church. This they knew, nor will they now deny it, and without charging any one with wilful perversion of law, we know that great interests have a great influence over men's views of constitutions and laws, and under such influences the majority screwed up their minds to the belief that the Discipline authorized the suspension of Mr. Harding for slaveholding. We believe that if there had been nothing to lose at the North by a different decision, the conference would have seen the law differently. This is not assuming that they were wilful hypocrites, but only that they were men and acted like men. But about this we will not contend; the only question about which we are careful is, how much true anti-slavery merit is the Conference entitled to claim for the decision in the Harding case? and this question is not to be settled between us and the North. We have shown that they are entitled to no anti-slavery merit, if the decision went no further than the law required them to go, and we will allow the North all the anti-slavery they may feel disposed to claim as the result of such action, upon the supposition that the decision went against slavery beyond what the rule in the case warranted, if they will take along with such merit the following consequences which must be inseparable from it.

1. If the anti-slavery merit consisted in going beyond the rule, then must the rule be pro-slavery. If the rule goes against slavery as far as is right, and still their anti-slavery consisted in going beyond the rule, their anti-slavery must have consisted in going beyond right. Was not that "*ultra*?" If then they claim anti-slavery merit on the ground of going against slavery beyond the rule, it follows either that they were wrongfully opposed to slavery to prevent secession or else that the rule is wrongfully deficient in opposition to slavery, and that they made it so to please slaveholders, and to keep them in the Church.

2. To claim that the Conference showed its anti-slavery by going against slavery beyond the law, would be to claim for that exalted body the high rank of liars and hypocrites, for they debated and voted upon the principle that the slaveholding of Mr. Harding was a violation of the Discipline, and that the rule imposed a forfeiture of his ministerial character. This they proclaimed over and over again. Now if our Episcopal brethren will set up a claim to anti-slavery merit with such consequences staring them in the face, we will not envy them, though they claim that the last General Conference entered the *sanctum sanctorum* of anti-slavery, and dwelt amid its inner glories during the whole of its protracted session. But we do not suppose that any Northern man will attempt to maintain the anti-slavery character of the Conference upon this ground, yet we thought it safe to call attention to the consequences that would follow, if an attempt should be made to escape the conclusions at which we have arrived on the supposition that the decision was no more than law required, by fleeing in this direction. We trust we have now shown that there is no evidence of advance in anti-slavery to be found in the decision on the appeal of Mr. Harding. That decision was according to or not according to law; if it was according to law, we have shown that it was no advancement in anti-slavery, and if it was not according to law, it was worse than no advancement in anti-slavery; no new anti-slavery merit can therefore be claimed from that action. We have now done with this case, excepting one remark, which we reserve to be made in connection with the case of Bishop Andrew, in which point of light they both present the same aspect.

SECTION II.

THE CASE OF BISHOP ANDREW.

Having, in the preceeding section, examined the action of the late General Conference of the M. E. Church in the Harding case, we enter upon a review of the case of Bishop Andrew, which is next in order in the proceedings which are claimed to be the anti-slavery action of the Conference. This was obviously the most important case. The Harding case was local in its character and effects, for though the decision was adverse to slaveholding by the ministry, and made too upon principles which, if generally applied, would veto all clerical slaveholding, yet as the application of those principles is with the annual conferences, the General Conference having no jurisdiction in the case, only in the case

of an appeal from the decision of an annual conference, and as such appeals can be taken only when the annual conference forces the principles against a minister, and not when they refuse to do it, the slaveholding conferences had nothing to fear from that decision, so long as they could command a majority among themselves in favor of the patriarchal institution. But the Bishop's case was much broader in its effects, and involved principles which the annual conferences could not control among themselves, but which rest wholly with the General Conference; hence, when this question was touched, the trumpet of alarm was blown by slaveholders, the cry of division was set up, and the requiem of the martyred unity of the Church was heard in the wailing of a thousand voices pouring their funeral tones in the nation's ear. Not indeed because any thing had been done or was likely to be done against slavery as it has existed in the Church from its organization, but because an obstacle was thrown in the way of its future advancement to higher degrees and higher honors. Slavery being absolute in its dominion over the victims of cruelty, avarice and lust, knew not how to endure restraint, or to be crossed in its ambitious designs; and having entrenched itself in the pale of the Church, and secured to itself the peaceable possession of all the honors of the common rank of holy order, with unabated ambition it aspired to the dignity of a mitred head. It was on this point, and this only, that the action of the Conference in the case of Bishop Andrew conflicted with slavery, and here it met it firmly and effectually. There was nothing in the action of the Conference which disturbed slavery in any of its honors, rights and immunities heretofore enjoyed in the Church, and though it did not depose the Bishop, yet the action, as a whole, and especially the character of the debate, prospectively and for ever hedged up the way of slavery to the episcopal throne. This was all, and it was more than it could bear.

If the above view of the subject be correct, and we think it is, the action of the Conference in the case of Bishop Andrew, was not the result of increased anti-slavery on the part of the Conference, but the result of new claims set up and new depredations committed by slavery; and the division of the Church, if it takes place, will not be the result of an attempt to condemn slavery in the Church, or to put slavery out of the Church, but the result of a simple refusal to give slavery a higher rank and increased influence and honor in the Church; and if so the claim of new anti-slavery merit set up in view of this action is without foundation. This, we have no doubt, we shall be able to show to the satisfaction of the candid reader.

In order fully to understand the merits of the case, it will be necessa-

ry to consider the facts alledged against the bishop, the principles upon which the Conference acted in view of these facts, and the results at which they arrived.

THE FACTS ALLEDGED AGAINST BISHOP ANDREW. — The facts are set fourth in the Bishop's own statement, and upon this statement, made by the Bishop himself the whole proceeding against him was based. The simple facts are, the Bishop had become possessed of slaves in three ways, or by three distinct acts.

1. By the will of an old lady, who bequeathed to him a single slave, a mulatto girl, in trust, to be sent to Liberia when nineteen years of age if she should be willing to go, and if not willing, to be made as free as the laws of the State of Georgia would allow. She refused to go, and he complied with the condition of the will, and made her as free as the laws permitted.

2. He became legally possessed of a little boy by the death of his former wife. The boy had been willed to his wife by her mother, and she dying intestate, by the law of the State, the boy became his. He declared that he set up no claim to these two slaves in moral right, but was willing they should be free if they chose it, and if he could be assured the boy should be protected and provided for until he shall be capable of taking care of himself.

3. The second wife was possessed of slaves when he married her, and he being unwilling to become their owner, and the law not allowing of emancipation, he deeded them to his wife, by a deed of trust, soon after their marriage.

A few remarks may be proper on the Bishop's connection with slavery. We are no apologist for slaveholding in any of its forms; we believe that it is sinful *under all circumstances*, and proclaim our belief upon the house top, and would be glad to write it upon the wings of the winds in letters of fire, as they issue from the chambers of the North and spread themselves over the South to fan its sultry plains. But still we do not believe that the connection of Bishop Andrew with slavery was criminal, if tried by the rules and common sentiments of the M. E. Church. If you test it by the law of the church, and by the only laws or all the laws on the subject, it is right. The general rule which forbids "buying and selling men, women and children, with an intention to enslave them," does not condemn the Bishop, for he has neither bought nor sold. The rule directly on the subject of clerical slaveholding, most clearly endorses every principle involved in the Bishop's connection with slavery. This rule, as was seen in the preceding section, makes ministerial slaveholding depend upon the practica-

bility or impracticability of emancipation, and of course it assumes that it may sometimes be practicable and sometimes impracticable to emancipate. Now no one can deny that if there are any circumstances in which it is impracticable to emancipate slaves, those are the very circumstances in which the Bishop found himself a slaveholder. His residence is far removed from the free States and the laws of Georgia, in which he resides, as effectually hedge up the way of emancipation as the laws of any other State in the Union. The Bishop therefore was, in our view, entitled to the full protection of the rule which provides for slaveholding by the ministry, where emancipation is not practicable. This was urged by the delegates from the South, and was attempted to be met by the North in two ways.

It was insisted that a Bishop, having no local charge, but being a general superintendent, could select his own place of residence, and hence, might free himself from the difficulty by removing to a place where emancipation would be practicable. This we regarded, when we listened to the debate, as fallacious, for the following among other reasons

1. The rule does not take the power to move out of the State into the account, as one of the circumstances upon which it is founded, nor does it make the act of removing from the State, when it is practicable, one of the conditions of ministerial character. When, therefore, Dr. Durbin and others reasoned from the power of the Bishop to move out of the State, they reasoned from what is not in the law, and made a rule of action for the Bishop which the law does not make.

2. If the law did require the Bishop to move out of the State to free his slaves, because it was practicable for him to do so, then in case he failed to comply, the rule absolutely required a forfeiture of his ministerial character; for that is the penalty and the only penalty for its violation; yet it was affirmed over and over again, that they designed to leave his ministerial character untouched.

3. As the rule says nothing about moving out of the State when it is practicable, but only requiring, in terms, emancipation "conformably to the laws of the State *in which he lives*," if by construction it is made to require emancipation by removal from the State, "if it be practicable," it must require the same of all travelling preachers. If, then, Southern preachers hold slaves only from necessity, growing out of their location in States where the law forbids emancipation, how perfectly practicable must it be to free the ministry from slaveholding, by transferring those who are made slaveholders against their wills, to free States, and transferring others from free States to take their place.

'This the Bishops have the power to do; and if the work was kept up, and not suffered to run behind, it would not require more transfers each year than would keep up a healthy itinerancy. The practicability in the case of a preacher, must be greater than in the case of a Bishop, because, as the preacher is subject to disciplinary removal every year, and the Bishop never subject to such removal, he must be supposed to gather around him more permanent local interests. We wondered that such minds as Dr. Durbin should condescend to employ such sophistry; but great men are still but men, especially when they have a bad cause to manage.

A second ground of defence set up by the North against the protection which the rule in question throws over Episcopal slaveholding was, that the rule does not relate to Bishops at all, but only to travelling preachers. This position was sustained simply on the ground that there was another section in the Discipline which makes special provision for the trial of a Bishop, and that therefore this cannot be applicable to a Bishop.

This point was made by all the principal speakers in the majority; and we must confess we were in doubt whether they really believed it, or whether it was only one of those intentional sophisms in which controvertists are apt to indulge to perplex and confound an opponent, when he cannot be refuted. This view of the majority was clearly wrong, from the following considerations.

1. There is another section which as clearly and specially provides for the trial of a travelling preacher, as there is that provides for the trial of a Bishop, and this must prove as much against the applicability of the rule to the one as to the other. The truth in the case is this: the rule for the trial of a Bishop, i. Sec. 4, and the rule for the trial of preachers generally, Chap. I Sec. 9, merely settled the mode of proceeding in each case, how the court is to be organized, and by what rules it is to be governed; but they do not define, in all respects, what is crime and what is not crime, this being decided by the articles, the general rules, and such special enactments as the General Conference has provided: while the rule on slavery under consideration is one of those special enactments, not in the least affecting the mode of trial prescribed in the other rules, but simply defining how far slaveholding is a crime, decreeing that it should be an offence only when emancipation is practicable. It defines, not *how* a preacher or a Bishop shall be tried, but *for what* they shall be tried, and is applicable to all classes of preachers.

2. If this rule is not applicable to a bishop, so as to protect him in

slaveholding where emancipation is *not* practicable, it cannot be applied to him so as to condemn him, where emancipation *is* practicable. Now as this rule is professedly against slavery, and as it is the only rule in the Discipline which touches the case of clerical slaveholding, if it be not applicable to a Bishop, there is no rule in the Discipline which does forbid Episcopal slaveholding, and the Bishops may become slaveholders without violating any rule of the Church. To make the rule condemn a Bishop, should he hold slaves when he might emancipate them, you must allow him its full protection when emancipation is impracticable.

3. the language of the rule, by its own force and meaning, includes Bishops. "When any travelling preacher becomes the owner of a slave," &c., is the language. The simple question is this: Is a Bishop a travelling preacher, in the sense of the rule? We say yes, for the words include Bishops by their own force, and we must understand them to be used in the proper, grammatical sense, unless there be obvious reasons for another construction. Travelling preacher is a *generic* term, which comprehends a number of species. No one can deny that as the word is here used, it includes elders, deacons, and licentiate: and by its proper meaning, it also includes Bishops. A mere licentiate is a travelling preacher: a deacon is no more than a travelling preacher: an elder is no more than a travelling preacher: and a Bishop is certainly no less than a travelling preacher: and we cannot see that he is any more. What gives greater force to this view is some of the debaters in the majority apply another rule to the Bishop, which is a rule for preachers, showing that preacher includes Bishop, when that view favors their side of the question. In Chap. 1 Sec. 9, the following is found as the fourth direction given to a "preacher." "Take no step toward marriage without first consulting with your brethren." As the Bishop's difficulty mainly grew out of his late marriage, this rule was applied to him with peculiar force by several of the speakers against him, which supposes a Bishop is bound by the rules of a preacher; and if bound by them, he must be entitled to their advantages. We think that the above is sufficient to show that Bishop Andrew was no offender against the Methodist Discipline, nor did his accusers pretend that he had violated any express rule of the Church. We believe, as we have said above, that the rule of the Church fully sustained Bishop Andrew in his slaveholding; and though in a moral point of view, they did not deal with him so severely as the crime of slaveholding deserves, yet in the light of the Methodist Discipline, the whole proceeding against him was unlawful and oppressive. If we were to appeal to the common sentiments of the Church, as they have been expressed by leading ministers, Bishop Andrew would stand acquitted.

Take one instance, as we must be brief upon this point. Bishop Hedding's "golden rule argument" is to the point. He says, "The right to hold a slave is founded upon this rule: whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." We do not understand the Bishop to design this as a justification of slaveholding as a system, but only so far as the laws render emancipation impossible without making the condition of the slave worse. The Bishop's argument amounts to this: such are the regulations, wrongs, and cruelties of the system, that in many cases it is for the best good of the slave to be held by kind, Christian masters, rather than by unlawful emancipation, to be thrown into the hands of cruel infidels. Let us then test Bishop Andrew's case by this argument. If this argument be sound, the man who has a right to hold a slave by the golden rule, must be bound to hold him. It cannot be right by the rule, unless it comes within the meaning of the rule; and if it comes within the meaning of the rule, then the rule commands it, and it cannot be omitted without sin. Now for the application. Bishop Andrew's slaveholding was doubtless just such as is contemplated by Bishop Hedding's golden rule argument, and, therefore, it must be right; and if right, it must be binding on the Bishop to hold his slaves and to emancipate them would be to violate the golden rule. This being the case, the Conference proceeded against him for what was his duty to do, and for what he could not omit doing without violating the golden rule. This was driving the Bishop into a strait place, to require him to desist from the exercise of his Episcopal office, or sin against the requisitions of the golden rule. The Conference has got to shoulder this consequence and carry it off, or repudiate Bishop Hedding's golden rule argument.

It will not do for the Conference to attempt to escape this conclusion, so fatal to the morality of their proceeding against Bishop Andrew, by saying it was not of the kind of slaveholding contemplated by Bishop Hedding in that argument, for such a defence would involve them in a worse difficulty. What the golden rule justifies it commands, and what it does not justify it condemns; if therefore the Bishop's slavery was not justified by the golden rule, it was condemned by it, and must have been sinful, and yet the Conference did not treat him as guilty of the least inmorality. The speakers declared over and over again that he was a pure man, and that they did not wish to touch his Christian and ministerial character. If then his slavery was not such as is contemplated by the golden rule argument of Bishop Hedding, it was wicked slaveholding, and according to the General Conference, a man may practise wickedness, and still be a pure Christian and an unblemished minister, so

long as such sin is not connected with the Episcopacy. It was not to Bishop Andrew's slaveholding the Conference objected, put to its connection with the Episcopacy. If then it *was not* such slavery as the golden rule sanctions, according to Bishop Hedding, the Conference had no objection to sin in the ministry, so long as it was not connected with the Episcopacy, and if it *was* such slavery as the golden rule justifies then they required the Bishop to violate the golden rule by emancipating his slaves, which the golden rule required him to hold.

Nor will it avail any thing for the Conference to say that Bishop Hedding's golden rule argument was not intended for Bishops, but only for preachers and members, for this would suppose the Church has two codes of morality, one for the members and preachers, and another for Bishops. The Bishop's argument founded on the golden rule, does not consider slavery as a question of expediency, but as a question of morality to be settled by the moral law; and hence his argument must apply to Bishops, unless it be maintained that by virtue of office they are exempt from the claims of the moral law. We can very easily conceive that the Conference might make one set of rules of expediency for preachers, and another for Bishops, but that they are or can be under different laws of morality is not supposable. The fact that a man is a layman, a preacher or a Bishop, does not alter his moral obligation to his fellow being in the case of slaveholding, so far as that obligation depends upon the golden rule. Suppose a case:—A slaveholder who holds his slaves under the sanction of the golden rule; of course the rule requires him to hold them. He receives license to preach, is ordained, and finally becomes a bishop; his obligation to those slaves remains the same through all these changes, and he is no less bound to hold them by the golden rule as a Bishop than he was as a layman. The right to hold slaves by the golden rule is made to depend upon the condition of the slaves, and not upon the condition of the master; hence it can be changed only by a change of the condition of the slaves, upon which it depends; it cannot be shifted by a change in the office of the master, upon which it does not depend. These remarks show that if there is any truth in Bishop Hedding's golden rule argument, it must constitute a general rule of morality for all classes, for bishops as well as for others; hence the above difficulties cannot be avoided by saying that the golden rule argument was not intended for Bishops. The conclusion is, that if slaves can be held by the golden rule, as Bishop Hedding contends, there can be no doubt that such is the character of slaveholding by Bishop Andrew. If it was such, they required him to violate the golden rule; and if it was not such, it must have been sinful, and

they offered to tolerate him in the sin, if he would only cease to act as a Bishop and take his rank as a preacher or presiding elder. We believe the sentiments of Bishop Hedding are the sentiments of the Church generally, with the exception of the few whom the officials call modern ultra abolitionists; hence we say the slaveholding of Bishop Andrew was no violation of the law of the Church, or of what has been advanced by Bishops and leading ministers, which stands uncontradicted as the sentiments of the Church in relation to slaveholding.

The same view is sustained by the proceedings of the Conference; the resolutions themselves do not accuse the Bishop of any violation of Methodist law, or of any law of morality. As we are devoting this section to a consideration of the facts in the case alledged against Bishop Andrew, and having considered them as set forth by the Bishop himself, we will now notice briefly the Conference version of them as set forth in the resolutions. Mr. Griffith's resolution, which was first introduced was based upon the following points set forth in the preamble.

1. It asserted that Bishop Andrew had become a slaveholder.
2. It had been the settled policy of the Church and invariable usage not to elect a slaveholder to the Episcopacy.
3. As a slaveholder, he could not discharge the duties of a Bishop in the non-slaveholding portions of the Church.
4. Bishop Andrew was nominated in 1832 by the South as a non-slaveholder.
5. The present period is most unfavorable to the connection of slavery with the Episcopacy.

Upon these facts, real or assumed, a resolution was based requesting Bishop Andrew to resign. It is worthy of remark that there is not the least intimation that the Bishop had violated any law of the Church.

There are five different reasons conjured up for the Bishop's resignation, not one of which is founded on any rule of the Church, or any rule of Christianity or morality, or on any want of qualification in the Bishop. Is there not something dark in such a proceeding? Let us look at these reasons.

1. The Bishop has become a slaveholder! But there were, previous to this, thousands of members, hundreds of ministers, and many presiding elders who were slaveholders, for whose slaveholding the laws of the Church provided. Why then this alarm?

2. It has been the settled policy and invariable usage of the Church not to elect a slaveholder to the Episcopal office. There is no such written policy, and every one knows that if it exists it has not been *settled*, for the South have been all the while contending and striving for a slaveholding Bishop, while hundreds of Northern men petitioned this

very conference against the election of a slaveholder to the Episcopacy. How false is the assertion that such was the *settled* policy of the Church, when one party in the Church is striving for the thing, and one opposite party are so fearful that they will succeed, that they are holding conventions, passing resolutions, and getting up petitions to prevent it!

3. The Bishop cannot perform the duties of his office in the non-slaveholding portion of the Church acceptably. But it is not intimated whether his want of acceptability is the fault of his connection with slavery, or the fault of those who will not receive him. It is known, however, that the sentiment of the North, which renders the Bishop unacceptable, has been opposed by these very men who proceed against the Bishop. They having done all they could to put down and crush this sentiment, and having failed in the attempt, they turn round and crush the Bishop in subserviency to the very principles they have opposed and sought to destroy! What a lovely gem consistency is! And what a rare exhibition of it we here have!

4. the Bishop was elected as a man from slavery. But the Bishop declared that he was elected without a pledge not to become a slaveholder the next day, and without even being asked a question on the subject, and no man presumed to contradict him.

5. The present period is most unfavorable to the connection of slavery with the Episcopacy. Principles have not changed, and the peculiar unfavorableness of the period is the abolition influence which the Church has opposed and failed to subdue, as remarked above. What a cringing before what the Church has from the beginning condemned as perverted and wicked public sentiment! Such are the facts in relation to the first resolution introduced against Bishop Andrew, but it was too strong meat, and a substitute was offered of a milder character.

The following is Mr. Finley's substitute, which was admitted by the original mover, and after discussion was adopted by the Conference.

"Whereas, the Discipline of our Church forbids the doing any thing calculated to destroy our itinerant general superintendency, and whereas Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery by marriage and otherwise, and this act having drawn after it circumstances which will, in the estimation of the General Conference, greatly embarrass the exercise of this office as an itinerant general superintendent, if not in some places entirely prevent it; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the sense of this General Conference, that he be desisted from the exercise of this office so long as this impediment remains."

This, in our view, is a very strong document to be adopted by so

grave and wise a body as the General Conference of the M. E. Church. Upon it we submit the following remarks.

1. It is not true that "the Discipline forbids the doing any thing calculated to destroy our itinerant general superintendency." If there be any such prohibition we should be glad to have it pointed out, but we affirm there is no such rule which contains any such prohibition. We suppose the author of the resolution had his eye on the restrictive rule which forbids the General Conference to do "away Episcopacy or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency ;" but this does not make the resolution true. That restrictive rule only forbids the General Conference to do it on its own responsibility, it being a delegated body, but the Annual Conferences may, if they see fit, empower the General Conference to destroy Episcopacy, that is, abolish it. If it be insisted that the Discipline does forbid the doing any thing calculated to destroy the general superintendency, we reply that in the same manner and to the same extent, it forbids such an appropriation of the book fund, as was directed by that same General Conference in the case of a division, provided they could obtain the consent of the Annual Conference, for which purpose they sent the bill down for their approval.

2. The preamble to the resolution asserts that Bishop Andrew's connection with slavery has "drawn after it circumstances which will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office." This is also false in fact. There were circumstances which embarrassed the office connected with slavery, but those circumstances were not produced by the fact of his connection with slavery, as the language implies. The only circumstances, then, which embarrassed his office on account of his connection with slavery, are found in the anti-slavery principles and feelings of the non-slaveholding conferences, and we deny that the Bishop's marriage with slavery drew these principles and feelings after it. These existed before his marriage, and his connection with slavery had no influence in producing them. When we say a man's action has drawn after it certain consequences, we mean that his act, as a course, has produced these consequences. The language of the preamble supposes that Bishop Andrew's connection with slavery produced certain effects, which are called "circumstances drawn after it," and that these circumstances embarrass his office, whereas there are no intervening circumstances between his connection with slavery and the embarrassment referred to; the embarrassment was direct from his becoming a slaveholder, and not that his connection with slavery produced certain circumstances, and those circumstances embarrass him. The embarrassment is this: the non-slaveholding conferences will not consent to receive a

slaveholding Bishop, and, to this, they were as much opposed before they knew the Bishop was a slaveholder as they were after the fact was known. The only point of light in which this is important, is as an illustration of what crooked work men make when they dare not tell the truth, or when they act, and at the same time dare not give the real reasons for what they do. Had the preamble to the resolution expressed the real ground on which the resolution rested, it would not have said that Bishop Andrew's connection with slavery "having drawn after it circumstances which will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office," but it would have said, "Whereas, Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery by marriage and otherwise, and whereas the abolitionists have succeeded in prejudicing the Northern portion of the Church against slaveholding to such a degree, that he cannot, as a slaveholder, continue to act as a Bishop without great damage to the interests of the Church, as a number of the Conferences will either reject him entirely or secede from the Church, therefore,

Resolved, That it is the sense of this General Conference, that he desist from the exercise of his office."

Such a resolution would have set forth the facts just as they existed: but such a statement the Conference dared not to make. Though the speakers were compelled to take this ground in the debate, yet they dared not say it in the resolution, on account of the effect which an honest avowal of the facts would be likely to produce in the South, for they labored to prevent division by concealing the real state of things from the South. And in attempting to give a reason for the resolution, without expressing the real facts in the case, they have either used language that means nothing, or else that means what is not true. Instead of saying that the Northern Conferences or some of them, will not submit to have a slaveholding Bishop, they say that "Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery, and this act having drawn after it circumstances which will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office," &c. What a mighty labor of words to say nothing, or to say something so that no one can know and prove from the language employed, what was really intended to be said, or what ideas existed in the mind of the author. Why did not the Conference express by a specific name the state of things or facts intended to be represented by the almost unmeaning expression, "has drawn after it circumstances?" Who knows what these circumstances are from reading the resolution? Is the Bishop's attention required at home to take care of his slaves? or has he become so entangled with the business of the world by becoming a slaveholder? or does some other circumstance embarrass his office? Who can know from the resolution?

SECTION III.

BISHOP ANDREW'S CASE CONTINUED.

In the preceding section we considered the facts in the case of Bishop Andrew. The next point to be considered is the principle upon which the Conference acted in view of these facts. The following questions suggest the facts to be arrived at in this inquiry. Did the Conference deal with Bishop Andrew as they did from the love of anti-slavery principles, and with a design to promote them? and if not, what was the object aimed at by such actions?

We do not believe the love of anti-slavery had any thing to do with the proceedings in the case of Bishop Andrew, nor do we believe that the advancement of the cause of anti-slavery formed any part of the object aimed at to be secured by those strange proceedings. In making this remark we speak of the Conference as a whole; we do not deny that there may have been some individuals who sought the promotion of the interests of the slave, and this even is hard to believe, for such was the course of those who claim to be abolitionists that it is not easy to reconcile it with sound anti-slavery principles. That the action against the Bishop was not the result of the love of anti-slavery, and was not designed to promote it, appears from the following considerations.

1. The proceedings were not professedly based upon anti-slavery principles. The resolution called the substitute, which was finally adopted, has not one word of true anti-slavery in it. True anti-slavery has its foundation in a belief in the sinfulness of slaveholding, and yet there is not one word in all that document which intimates that slaveholding is sinful. The preamble affirms that Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery, but it does not affirm that it is a sinful connection; it does not intimate or imply any such thing, but to the reverse. It affirms that the act of connecting himself with slavery "has drawn after it circumstances which must greatly embarrass the exercise of his office;" but this language does not mean or imply that the connection is sinful, but to the reverse, and must be conclusive evidence that those who are satisfied with that declaration, do not believe Bishop Andrew's connection with slavery is sinful. Such were the circumstances as to call for a direct declaration of the sinfulness of that connection, if it were believed to be sinful. The Conference declared its opinion that the Bishop ought to desist from the exercise of his office on account of his connection with slavery. For this a reason is given; a reason found in such connection, and of course if there existed a belief that it was sinful, this would have been the first and only reason. It is the first rea-

son to be rendered, because it is more important than any other reason and it is the only reason, because when a thing is sinful, no other reason against it can be necessary with Christians. The fact therefore, that the sinfulness of Bishop Andrew's connection with slavery is not rendered as a reason for the action in the case, is proof that the actors did not believe it to be sinful. That there was no intention of even intimating that slavery was sinful, is clear from the language employed. To suppose that the Conference intended to be understood by the preamble and resolution, to mean that Bishop Andrew's connection with slavery is sinful, would be to impeach their common sense. Understand them to mean that the connection with slavery was sinful, and you make them express themselves after the following manner. When they mean to say or communicate the idea that Bishop Andrew's connection with slavery is *sinful*, to express it they say it has "drawn after it circumstances which will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office." Can any one believe that the Conference used such language to express the sinfulness of slaveholding? Surely not. When they mean to say that the Bishop's conduct is sinful, do they express it by saying it has drawn after it circumstances? And do they really mean gravely to affirm, that sin will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office? We think not. It is clear that the ground of action set forth in the preamble and resolution, is not the sinfulness of slavery, and that the actors do not believe in the sinfulness of that slavery practised by Bishop Andrew, and the conclusion is, the action did not spring from the love of anti-slavery principles or from a desire to promote them.

All genuine anti-slavery action proceed from a belief in the sinfulness of slaveholding, but the action against Bishop Andrew did not proceed from a belief in the sinfulness of slaveholding, and therefore it was not anti-slavery action.

2. The repeated avowals of the speakers, and the general scope of their arguments, prove that the action did not proceed from a belief in the sinfulness of Bishop Andrew's connection with slavery, nor from a love of anti-slavery, or a desire to promote it. There are several facts which confirm this position, some of which we will briefly, yet distinctly state.

(1.) They declare their full confidence in the moral integrity and purity of Bishop Andrew. Mr. Collins said he loved Bishop Andrew as a man, as a Christian, as a minister, and as a Bishop; he loved him more than any other man on the bench of Bishops. He believed he was a pure man. This he could not have said if he believed his connection with slavery was sinful. Dr. Olin said if he had a thousand votes to

give for a Bishop, he would give them all for Bishop Andrew, with the exception of his connection with slavery, and for that he did not wish to touch his Christian and ministerial character. This he could not have said, if he believed his connection with slavery was sinful. Other speakers repeated over and over again the same sentiment.

(2.) The whole argument, on the part of the North, proceeded not upon the principle of the sinfulness of slavery, but upon the constitutional power of the General Conference to put a Bishop out of office without even charging him with sin, or any crime. All the speakers from the South made the issue the right of slaveholding in the case of Bishop Andrew; but no Northern man joined issue with them on this point, which they would have done had they been acting upon anti-slavery principles. The great battle, so far as the North carried on the war, was about the power of the Conference to do what they proposed to do. The South did not contend for the moral right of slaveholding in the circumstances of Bishop Andrew, which the North did not deny; but they joined issue with the North on the constitutional question, and here the battle raged fierce and long. The South did not deny the power of the General Conference to deal with a Bishop for sin of any kind, but they denied the constitutional power of the Conference to deal with the Bishop as proposed, without charge and conviction of sin, or a dereliction from duty of some sort. This being the case, they might have ended the dispute at once on the constitutional question, by simply saying that they regarded the Bishop's connection with slavery as sinful. There would then have been nothing to dispute about but the simple point of the sinfulness of slaveholding, and if, as some tell us, the Church is anti-slavery, there would have been but little room to dispute about this. It is clear then, from this consideration, that they did not regard the slaveholding of Bishop Andrew as sinful. It would betray too great a want of common sense to suppose that they would have contended so long for the right of requesting Bishop Andrew to desist from the exercise of his office, without crime on his part, when the very act for which they wished to do it was, in their view, sinful, and yet that they should never once urge such sinfulness as a reason for their action.

(3.) They express their entire satisfaction with the slaveholding of Southern preachers as it exists, where the laws will not admit of emancipation, which proves that their objection to the slaveholding of Bishop Andrew was not founded in a belief in its sinfulness, or in any love of anti-slavery principles. It was affirmed over and over again, that, their objection was not to slaveholding as practised by Southern ministers, but only to its connection with the Episcopacy. Rev. J. T. Peck

of the Troy Conference, said if they would only yield on the question of a slaveholding Bishop, they would go on together in peace as they had for the last forty years. It was also stated by others that if the Bishop would give up his office as Bishop, he might continue to labor as a minister or a presiding elder, and be useful. There can be no difference in moral principle, whether slaveholding be practised by a Bishop, a presiding elder, a common pastor, or a layman; and hence, as the Conference offered to tolerate him in his slaveholding in any relation in the Church but that of Bishop, and asked nothing of him but to desist from the exercise of the Episcopal office while he remained a slaveholder, it is clear that their proceeding against him did not originate from anti-slavery principles, which know no difference between slavery in the hands of a Bishop, an elder, or a layman. If there was any opposition to slavery in it, it was such as is confined to the Episcopacy, and would act so far only as to abolish Episcopal slaveholding. Is that entitled to the name of anti-slavery? Will such principles and proceedings be received as satisfactory anti-slavery by any true anti-slavery man, whose hatred of oppression and whose love of liberty are as diffusive as universal humanity? We cannot believe it; it will satisfy none but such as seek for nothing more than an apology for being satisfied, whose souls have been withered and blighted by the searching spirit of sectarian bigotry. We have one more general consideration to urge why the action in the case of Bishop Andrew did not proceed from anti-slavery principles.

3. The remedy proposed was such as no honest anti-slavery man would propose in such a case. We use the term remedy instead of punishment, because the Conference deny that their action was punitive. The Bishop is clearly a slaveholder, and has become such in three different ways. Now what does this pure-minded anti-slavery body propose as a remedy for this Episcopal slaveholding? "By their fruit ye shall know them," and what is the anti-slavery fruit of this wonderful anti-slavery body?

(1.) The Conference claimed the right to expel the Bishop, if they saw it necessary, but no one proposed this, so that there was not anti-slavery enough in the Conference to conceive the thought that slaveholding is a crime, or a disqualification for membership in a Christian Church, or for the Christian ministry. How much anti-slavery is there in that sentiment which holds that slaveholding is consistent with the purity of the Christian ministry? The answer is, Just as much as there was in the action of the General Conference in the case of Bishop Andrew.

(2.) They did not require Bishop Andrew to cease from slaveholding as a condition of his future standing in the Church and in the ministry.

(3.) The Conference did not even censure or reprove the Bishop for slaveholding, for no vote of censure or reproof was passed or even proposed.

(4.) All that the Conference did from the fulness of its anti-slavery heart, was to say, *as a mere matter of opinion*, that the Bishop ought to "desist from the exercise of his office so long as this impediment remains. This is the remedy; and this is called anti-slavery! How must the anti-slavery heart of that Conference have swollen, and throbbed, and beat, with such a mammoth anti-slavery sentiment, and how must it have felt relieved, when after ten days protracted labor it delivered itself of the simple expression of opinion, that the Bishop ought not to exercise his office while he remains a slaveholder, throwing this anti-slavery child of so many throes and sorrows at the feet of the Bishop, unarmed by the force of law, and unprotected by a parent's authority, to be disposed of as the mercy of his slaveholding reverence should dictate, leaving the Bishop free to pick up and pity the little harmless thing, and lend an ear to its feeble authoritative cry, or to neglect it as unworthy of his notice, or to crush it as one would crush the young of a viper? We can say nothing worse, nothing more severe of those who can call this anti-slavery action, than that we *pity them!* and we can wish nothing worse to come upon, than that they may feel the mighty principles of real anti-slavery taking hold of their hearts and stirring up the fountains of their souls, only in the degree that we felt them when they severed the ties of sect, became stronger than the regards and flatteries of many friends, and triumphed over the love of popularity in the Church and in the community.

If then, as we have shown, the action in the case of Bishop Andrew did not result from the love of anti-slavery principles, and was not designed to promote them, our last inquiry on this point is, upon what principles did the Conference act? This may be soon answered, and upon good authority. They acted from what is commonly called expediency, and the inquiry was not, what is expedient for the cause of the slave, but what is expedient in the work of promoting the sectarian interests of the M. E. Church. That there were men in that Conference who see and feel the evil of slavery, and have the interests of the slave at heart, we do not deny, but that the Conference was governed by a regard for the slave we do not, we cannot believe. We cannot believe it, because the actors assigned another reason for their action, which they *had no cause to feign*. If we are to regard them as honest, the simple

object was, not to relieve the slaves of the South, but to pacify the abolitionists of the North, and prevent secession. This is obvious from various considerations.

1. In the debate, the issue was never placed between the master and the slave, as it would have been, had the main object of the Conference been to relieve the slave; but the issue was placed between the Northern and Southern divisions of the Church. The South did plead the interest of the slave as a reason why the resolution should not be adopted; but the North did not urge the interests of the slave as a reason why the resolution should be adopted; they urged the interests of the North in opposition to the interests of the South, including both master and slave, as plead by Southern delegates. Had the object of the majority been to relieve the slave, they would have plead the interests of the slave; but this they did not plead, but plead the interests of the North, and therefore their object was to promote the interests of the North.

2. The resolution over which this wonderful debate was held, makes no allusion to the interests of the slaves, but it is founded upon the evils likely to be wrought in the Northern portion of the Church. It affirms, not that slaveholding is wrong, not that the Bishop's connection with slavery will increase its evil or perpetuate it, but that it will greatly embarrass the exercise of the office, if not in some places entirely prevent it. Where does it embarrass or prevent the exercise of the Episcopal office? In the South? No, but in the North, and in that portion of the North where anti-slavery prevails most. It is clear then that the action was taken to pacify the abolitionists of the North, and prevent the dreadful work of secession so fearfully begun, from going any further.

3. If any further proof was necessary we have it in the repeated declarations made by the disputants during the discussion. They declared over and over again, that unless something was done, there would be great secessions in some of the Northern Conferences; this they regretted; they had done what they could to oppose it, but it had become uncontrollable, and if Bishop Andrew remained as he was, a slaveholder, and the Conference took no action in the case, the Church would be broken up in some places. Mr. Spencer said they might as well go home and disband. Dr. Olin said the thing would become perfectly uncontrollable, and nearly all the Northern speakers, in some way, declared the same sentiment, but we need not repeat the discussion which our readers have seen and read. If there is any dependence to be put upon what men say, the object of the action in the case of Bishop An-

drew was to prevent secession, for this they declared by the principal agents in such action. And so fearful were they that they should not be understood, and that they should be suspected of being actuated by abolition sentiments, that they denied being abolitionists, declared their disbelief in the abolition doctrine that slaveholding is sinful under all circumstances, and further avowed their belief that immediate abolition would be the greatest calamity that could be inflicted upon the slaves. Such was the anti-slavery action of the General Conference in the case of Bishop Andrew. We have yet to examine the result at which the Conference arrived in this case, but this must furnish matter for another short section.

SECTION IV.

BISHOP ANDREW'S CASE CONTINUED.

Having shown in preceding sections what were the facts in this case and upon what principles the Conference acted in view of these facts it only remains to consider in this, the result to which those principles conducted them. The conclusion is soon told in the following words:

“Resolved, That it is the sense of this General Conference, that he ~~desist~~ from the exercise of his office so long as this impediment remains.”

This is the wonderful child of many sorrows, that cast mighty throes and pangs; and had it come into the world gifted with the power of speech, and had it inquired of his father, “What hast thou begotten?” and of its mother, “What hast thou brought forth?” there was not one in that Conference who could have answered the question. Those who sustained the resolution knew very well that it was so indefinite as to settle nothing, and that it could be made of no practical use but by construction, and in this way it would suit almost any purpose, for it meant nothing of itself. There was a reason for this. The object was to run between two extremes, and so run as to drive neither off, and to effect this they adopted a resolution which meant nothing only by construction that each party might construe it to suit themselves. In the South it could be understood to be merely advice, and in the North it could be understood to be a command, deposing the Bishop. The preachers could explain it to an abolitionist to mean a great deal, and to a pro-slavery man to mean but a very little. We have been informed of one case in which a member, who has always been very bitter against abolition, complained to a preacher, who is proud to be called an abolitionist, that

they had abused Bishop Andrew, but this abolitionist so explained it as to satisfy him, and then at another time he attempted to explain it so as to satisfy the abolitionists. That we are right in saying that the resolution settles nothing but by construction we will now prove. The resolution now has an authoritative meaning, because the Conference gave it one after they had adopted it, but until they gave it a construction by authority, it meant nothing certainly, and might mean almost any thing by construction. But to the proof that it was indefinite.

1. It was debated upon false principles, growing out of a misapprehension of the force and bearing of the resolution. The great question debated was the power of the Conference to depose a Bishop, or dismiss him from office without crime or impeachment. This was the point on which all the great men spent their energies. Mr. Hamline, now Bishop, in his very able argument, confined himself to this point. Dr. Durbin also made this point the most prominent feature of his argument. Now why was all this, if it was understood that the resolution was not intended to depose or dismiss the Bishop from office, nor yet to impose any binding restraint upon him in the exercise of his office, more than is implied in advice, to be followed or rejected as the judgment of the party advised dictates. The South, we have no doubt, honestly, thought the resolution intended to depose the Bishop; and hence they so argued the question, and the North had to meet them, for they did not like to say that the resolution meant no such thing, lest they should defeat its object at the North, and lest they should defeat the resolution, for they could agree among themselves on nothing definite. Such a resolution as that could be carried, because one would vote for it understanding it in one way, and another would vote for it understanding it in another way. This discussion as a whole, must be considered as a fair index to the understanding the Conference had of the resolution, and if so, there was no settled and authoritative meaning to it, for it was debated in all points of light, and in view of all sorts of considerations.

2. When the vote was taken, some men found it necessary to explain their position, by saying that they understood the resolution to mean so and so, and that they could not vote for it only in view of this construction, which shows that they apprehended that some others understood it differently. They must have conceived that the resolution did not clearly express the views with which they voted for it, that it was likely to be understood as saying what they did not mean to say by their votes; and hence, in giving their votes, they found it necessary to tell what they meant by their votes. Among this class was Rev. P. Rice, of the New York Conference, a man not to be suspected of a want of com-

mon discernment, and hence the defect must have been in the resolution.

3. The public journals generally misunderstood the resolution, and spoke of it as though it deposed the Bishop. Among them were the editors of the New York Tribune, and of the Boston Morning Chronicle; and even the sharp-sighted editor of Zion's Herald fell into this mistake.

4. The Bishops themselves, who presided over the Conference while the resolution was discussed and adopted, did not know its force and meaning, and could not determine from the resolution itself, in what position it placed Bishop Andrew, and as their action must be affected by it, they declared themselves unable to proceed until the general Conference would tell them what effect the adoption of that resolution had on the standing of the Bishop. Can any one account for this without impeaching the resolution as obscure, or as meaning nothing, or impeaching the intelligence of the Bishops. We trust, however, no one will call in question the commonsense of the Bishops; it is perfectly plain that the resolution meant nothing definitely, and yet that it might be made to mean different things by construction.

In view of the above facts we have got to look to the explanations given of the resolution, to learn certainly the result arrived at, and, to this point, we will now direct the reader's attention. The simple question is, Is the result anti-slavery? is it a result to which enlightened anti-slavery principles would lead? We think not. The truth is, the action of the Conference has not touched the Bishop in a legal point of view. It was not even legal advice. The Conference did not say we advise, or he is hereby advised, or resolve that he be advised, but only "that it is the sense of this Conference that he desist from the exercise of this office." This is nothing but the expression of an opinion, expressed not directly to Bishop Andrew, but concerning him, and it is, as defined by the Conference, not only devoid of all legal force, but it is not legal advice, for it is not addressed to him as advice. If we should refer back to the reason upon which the opinion is founded, which has been considered, we should find that it is not an anti-slavery reason. Does it intimate that he should desist from the exercise of his office because slaveholding is wrong? Not a whisper of this. Does it even imply that he should desist from the exercise of his office out of pity to the slave? Not in the least. Does it say or imply that it is because the exercise of his office will strengthen slavery? By no means. The only reason is, slaveholding greatly embarrasses the exercise of his office, and therefore the Conference are of opinion that it would be bet-

ter for him to desist from its exercise. The reason is not only Methodistical, a reason which none but a Methodist could have, but it is even confined to the Episcopal feature of Methodism, and is not a reason against slaveholding members, deacons, elders, and presiding elders; yea, no reason against a slaveholding world, and therefore it cannot be a true anti-slavery reason. That it came short even of its professed object, that of preserving the Episcopacy free from slavery, is too plain to be denied. It neither removed slaveholding from the Episcopacy, or the Episcopacy from slaveholding; it neither put slaveholding away from the Bishop, or put the Bishop away from the Episcopacy, but left them in union, as it found them, and therefore it came short of its professed object. This appears from two facts.

1. The explanation given in answer to the Bishop's inquiries fully confirms this view. The Conference passed three resolutions touching the case of Bishop Andrew, as follows:—

“1. Resolved, As the sense of this Conference, that Bishop Andrew's name stand in the Minutes, Hymn-Book, and Discipline as formerly.

“2. Resolved, That the rule in relation to the support of a Bishop and his family, applies to Bishop Andrew.

“3. Resolved, That whether in any, and in what work Bishop Andrew be employed, is to be determined by his own decision and action, in relation to the previous action of this Conference in his case.”

These resolutions prove that the previous action of the Conference had neither deposed or restrained Bishop Andrew. The first resolution settles the fact that he is still a Bishop, for it places his name as a Bishop on the official and public record of the Church. If he be not a Bishop, then does that resolution order false records to be published to the world.

The second resolution shows that he has still continued to him the living of a Bishop, to be communicated to him through a channel provided only for Bishops. The General Conference could not constitutionally grant money through the rule referred to, to any but a Bishop within the sense and meaning of the constitution of the Church.

The third resolution settles the question that the Bishop is not restrained in the exercise of his office. The question of his labor is left to the decision of his own judgement. The effect then of the action of the General Conference, is not to take away any of his powers and rights, but to extend them. He has just as much right and power to perform the work of a Bishop as he had before, if he chooses to attend to it, while he has an extension of right, by which he is authorized to

choose for himself what work he will do; hence he may take it into his head to act the part of a presiding elder, and live on a Bishop's pay; or he may take a circuit or a station and live on a Bishop's pay; or he may choose to act the part of a local preacher, or to act no part at all, that is, do nothing, and he violates no obligation imposed upon him by the General Conference, and still has his living secured to him as one of the Bishops of the M. E. Church.

2. The exposition given in the reply to the Southern protest fully confirms the above view. The document is full of proof, but we will content ourselves with one or two extracts, which shall be of a decisive character. The reply says of the proceedings:

"Such was the prevalence of moderate counsels, that no proposal was made either to impeach or punish."

"The action of the Conference was neither judicial nor punitive. It neither achieves nor intends a deposition, not so much as a legal suspension. Bishop Andrew is still a Bishop; and should he, against the expressed sense of the General Conference, proceed in the discharge of his functions, his official acts would be valid."

This language is so plain and direct as to render comment useless. Short is the extract, it contains the following points:—

1. No proposal was made to impeach or punish the Bishop.
2. The action of the Conference was not judicial; that is, it was not a proceeding according to the forms of law, and did not possess the force of legal proceedings.
3. It was not punitive; that is, it did not inflict any punishment.
4. It did not achieve the deposition of the Bishop; he is not therefore deposed.
5. It did not achieve a legal suspension of the Bishop; he is therefore not suspended.
6. It did not *intend* to effect either the deposition or the legal suspension of the Bishop.
7. It is affirmed that the Bishop is still a Bishop.
8. It declares that should he proceed to do the work of a Bishop, his acts would be valid.

All these things are said by the General Conference, and are sufficient to prove that nothing has been done against Bishop Andrew for his slaveholding, and that the M. E. Church has a slaveholding Bishop, clad in the full functions of The Episcopal office. What then has the Conference done against slavery in the case of Bishop Andrew? Nothing; absolutely nothing. They have not in a judicial, legal, or punitive sense, touched either the Bishop or his slaveholding.

We have now done with the case of Bishop Andrew, with one exception. We remarked at the conclusion of our review of the Harding case, that there was one aspect in which it was to be viewed in common with the Bishop's case, and in this point of light we would consider them together. We will now redeem that promise. The point to which we allude is this: In what sense can the action in these cases be considered anti-slavery, as it was contemplated before conference, and as it was promised in many sections, to keep the abolitionists quiet, and to prevent secession? Can those who have said they would leave the Church if something was not done, accept of the action in these two cases, as something done? We think not, for the following reason:

The action in these two cases grew out of new circumstances, which did not exist, or which were not known to exist at the time something was demanded and promised, and therefore the action growing out of these cases can form no part of what was demanded, promised, or expected. When men said the next General Conference will do something against slavery, they did not mean that they would do what has been done in the cases of Mr. Harding and Bishop Andrew, for they had no knowledge that these cases existed, and hence the action in these cases cannot be regarded in the light of a fulfilment of the promise that something shall be done. Again, when men said, if something was not done against slavery in the next General Conference, they would leave the Church, they did not mean the action had in these cases, for they did not know that any such action would be necessary; it is therefore no part of the work to be performed as a condition of their remaining in the Church. So far, therefore, as promises and expectations were concerned that something would be done, nothing can be found in the action of the Conference in these two cases to meet those promises and expectations. Let us further make this plain by an illustration. Suppose some of our citizens engaged in commerce had petitioned Congress for some years on the subject of indemnity against French spoliation; the fact of their loss by French plunderers is not denied, but Congress neglects to attend to it. By and by the plundered party become restless, and threaten to seek new political associations, or to put men in office who will attend to their rights, and some already have struck for reform, when those in office take the alarm and say, "If you will not desert us, we will certainly do something for you next time Congress meets." But Congress comes together, and the expectations of those who are calling for redress are high, when lo! the alarm is spread that new depredations have been committed, and Congress merely takes some gentle measures to prevent the like occurrence again, not securing full in-

demnity for the last spoliations, and not even asking for one cent for the old spoliations concerning which they promised to do something. The question now is, Has Congress redeemed the promise to do something for these men? They have not. This is precisely the case with the last General Conference. Much had been promised against slavery but new cases arise, slavery is found to have made new depredations, and in view of these, something is done, something which was not thought of at the time; something was promised, and this is claimed as the action promised.

It is clear, then, that so far as the cases of Mr. Harding and Bishop Andrew are concerned, nothing that was promised and expected has been done, and the Church is not as well off on the subject of slavery as before, for she has a slaveholding Bishop, and that she never had before.

SECTION V.

THE REPEAL OF THE COLORED TESTIMONY RESOLUTION AND PETITIONS.

We now come to the last action of the Conference which is claimed to be anti-slavery. We mean the repeal of the colored testimony resolution of 1840. On this we would remark that we have no fault to find with the action as far as it goes, but we complain that it does not go far enough to entitle it to the name of anti-slavery action, when it is considered in connection with its history, and the circumstances of the case. Let us examine the facts, and then we shall see the anti-slavery merit, if there is any in it.

The facts are these:—

1. Rev. Silas Comfort, at the time a member of the Missouri Conference, admitted a colored person to testify in a church trial against a white person.

2. For this conduct he was arrested at the next session of the conference, tried, and pronounced guilty of mal-administration.

3. He appealed to the next General Conference, and the Conference heard the appeal and reversed the decision of the Missouri Annual Conference.

4. Slaveholders raised a storm and threatened to divide the Church, and declared that they could never go back to their people with that decision upon the Journal of the General Conference.

5. The General Conference reconsidered the case, and rejected the appeal of Silas Comfort, by which the decision of the Missouri Conference, declaring it to be mal-administration to admit the testimony of a

colored person in the trial of a white person, was left untouched and unappealed from, and the right to appeal from it denied.

6. The Conference then passed the colored testimony resolution, by which they said the admission of such testimony is inexpedient and unjustifiable.

Here the matter rested for four years, until the last General Conference repealed the resolution. We have no objection to admit the full force of the repeal, all that any honest man can claim, viz., that the Church is as well off as it was before that resolution was adopted. We think no one will claim more. Will any one pretend that the Church is better off for having rested for four years under the disgraceful colored testimony resolution? As well might a man claim to be better off for having committed sin, seeing he has now repented and ceased to commit the same crime. The passage of that resolution was a sin against God and man: and on the supposition that the Conference has repented of it, we are not able to see that they are any better off for having committed it. Granting then all that can be claimed, viz., that the Church is just where it was before the passage of that resolution, and how does she then stand on the subject of colored testimony? We maintain that the repeal of that resolution does not reach the case of the disfranchised colored people: it does not in the least secure to them the right of bearing testimony to the truth against a white sinner in a church trial. Several views may be taken which will lead us to this conclusion.

1. It cannot be pretended that the repeal of the resolution has restored to the colored man any more than its passage took away from him. Did the passage of that resolution take away the right of giving testimony in a church trial? In theory it did, but in practice it did not; and hence its repeal only restores it in theory and not in practice. The right was not practically enjoyed before the passage of that resolution, as is evident from the fact that the first act of admitting such testimony was judged and pronounced to be mal-administration; and as it was not practically enjoyed before the passage of the resolution, so its repeal does not secure the right, without further guards thrown around the colored man, which the General Conference has failed to extend to him.

The colored man is now just where he was before the resolution was adopted, in a legal point of view; and as the right was denied him then so he has no security for its enjoyment now. What the passage of the resolution took away, its repeal has restored, and it cannot be claimed that it has restored any more; but its passage did not take away the right of the colored man to testify in church trials, and therefore its repeal

cannot have restored that right.

2. The repeal of the colored testimony resolution, under the circumstances, does not of itself legally secure the right to which such resolutions stood opposed. The repeal of that resolution does not lay the preachers and annual conferences under any stronger obligation to grant the right in question, than they were before the resolution was passed; and as they did not grant it then, so they cannot be expected to grant it now. Nor have they any reason to believe that the General Conference intended or expected they would grant it any more than formerly. There was not an expression, by way of discussion, in the process of repealing the resolution, that implied that any different practical course was expected from what has already been pursued. Had the Conference repealed the colored testimony resolution with a sincere desire and expectation of restoring the disfranchised colored people to the right of giving testimony in church trials, how easy would it have been to have said so. They knew, and the world knows that they knew that the right in question had been withheld before the adoption of the offensive resolution, and that it would be withheld after its repeal; and yet they have left the subject without a word of disapproval. Why did they not say as much in favor of the admission of colored testimony, as they said against it in the rescinded resolution? The reason is, the whole proceeding was heartless: it was a part of the two-faced policy which characterized the whole proceedings of the Conference, it was to do right in form in the eyes of the North, to prevent secession, without bringing righteous principles to bear in fact upon the corruptions of the South.

The legal bearing of the General Conference in the case of Silas Comfort's appeal, fully and forever settles this question. It has been shown above, that all that can be claimed is, that the repeal of the resolution leaves the question just where it was before it was adopted. What then was the legal aspect of the subject at the time that resolution was brought forward? The important facts have been stated above. Rev. Silas Comfort admitted the testimony of a colored person, for which he was called to an account by the Missouri Annual Conference, and was tried, and convicted of mal-administration. He appealed to the General Conference, and they finally decided not to hear the appeal. This left the decision of the Missouri Conference in full force, and at the same time took away all right and power to appeal from it, so that it must stand. This was the state of the case when the resolution was adopted, and hence this must be the state of the case now that it is repealed.

The legal state of the question is this: if a preacher admits colored testimony, he may be called to an account for so doing, be convicted of

mal-administration, and the General Conference will not hear his appeal or interfere with such decision of the annual conference. The rejection of colored testimony, therefore, has the sanction of the General Conference, which was given to it when the Conference refused to hear an appeal from the decision of an annual conference, which declared it wrong to admit such testimony. Every slaveholding conference can with perfect safety, yea, under the full protection of the General Conference, granted in the rejection of the Comfort appeal, convict every minister of mal-administration, who shall dare to admit the testimony of a colored person. The Missouri Annual Conference decided that to admit the testimony of a colored person in church trial is mal-administration, and the question being brought before the General Conference, they refused to hear it, which left the Missouri Conference undisturbed in its decision, and of course that and every other conference are at full liberty to repeat the decision as often as occasion may require. From this it is clear that the annual conferences are at full liberty to reject the testimony of colored persons in church trials, if they choose so to do, and the only influence the repeal of the colored testimony resolution has on this right of the annual conferences, is to extend it through the whole Church, whereas that resolution limited it to those parts where the law of the State excluded such testimony from civil courts. The colored testimony resolution declared that it is inexpedient and unjustifiable to admit the testimony of colored persons in church trials where the civil law excludes such testimony from courts of justice. This says, by implication at least, that their testimony shall be admitted in church trials where the civil law admits it, but the decision of the Conference in the Comfort case, upon which the question fell back when this was repealed, does not even go as far as the civil law. The question now rests upon that decision, which is that an annual conference may convict a preacher of mal-administration for admitting a colored person to testify in a church trial, and when a conference does so, no appeal shall be allowed to the General Conference. This authorizes those conferences to exclude colored testimony where the civil law does not exclude it, for the power of the annual conference in the case depends upon the fact that there is no appeal from its decision, and if there is no appeal from the Missouri Conference, there is none from the decision of the New-York or New-England Conferences. Thus it is seen that the repeal of the colored testimony resolution, instead of restoring disfranchised colored people to their rights, has actually put it within the power of the annual conferences more extensively to rob them. But we would not be misunderstood on this point; our own opinion is that the

slave or the free colored people have not been practically injured by the passage of the colored testimony resolution, nor do we believe they will be benefitted or injured by this repeal. Men must have learned but little of the spirit of slavery, if they suppose it will be restrained by such resolutions. Right is obviously more sacred than law or mere resolves, and as slavery is the clearest violation of right, of the most sacred of all the rights of man, it cannot be expected that it will regard church discipline and conference resolves when they come in its way. Such being the case, we do not believe one colored witness more has been rejected under the colored testimony resolution, and we do not believe one more will be admitted in consequence of its repeal. The truth is, in slave States colored persons have never been heard as witnesses against white persons in church trials, and they will be excluded still, now that infamous resolution is repealed.

But if the above views are correct, it may be asked why we have made so much more about the colored testimony resolution. We answer *we* have never complained of the resolution, on the ground that its existence practically injured the slave; no man can put his finger upon a sentence we have ever written upon this ground. We complained of it because it was a wicked bowing down to slavery; because it was a violation of the law of Christ, and because it exhibited deep corruption on the part of the Conference. On these points its repeal has not fully relieved us, for we have no evidence that one individual concerned has changed his mind on the moral right of that resolution. There has doubtless been a greater change in the votes, than there has been in the principles and moral feelings of the voters. Men of the North, who voted for that resolution, never did believe it morally right in principle; we do not believe a man can be found who dare say he does now, or ever did, approve of the principle of that resolution. They voted for it out of expediency, to prevent a division of the Church, lest the South should secede, and they voted to repeal it out of expediency, to prevent a division of the Church, lest there should be secessions in the North. We should be glad to find the first man who has changed his mind concerning the moral right of that resolution. Is there a Methodist preacher in the non-slaveholding States, who was so ignorant in 1840 as not to know that such a resolution was a violation of the law of God?

We will add but one remark on this subject, upon which so much has been said and written. Whatever may be claimed as an anti-slavery victory, on the ground of the repeal of the colored testimony resolution, must have been won as a pro-slavery victory on the other side in 1840. If the repeal is an anti-slavery triumph in 1844, its adoption must have

been a pro-slavery triumph in 1840. If, by repealing this resolution, the Conference did something against slavery in 1844, then by adopting it the Conference did something for the support of slavery in 1840. If those men who voted for the repeal of the rule in 1844, have thereby shown themselves to be anti-slavery, then those men who voted for its adoption in 1840 proved themselves to be pro-slavery. Among these is Dr. Peck at the head of the department in New York. Was he pro-slavery in 1840, with others that might be named? If he was, then it cannot be denied that the Church generally was pro-slavery at the time, and if he was not pro-slavery when he voted for the colored testimony resolution, when the Conference did not perform any anti-slavery work when they repealed the same resolution in 1844. With these remarks we will leave our old friends to glory over the anti-slavery triumph in the repeal of the colored testimony resolution, if it is pleasing to them to glory in their own shame, for just as they magnify the glory of 1844 they deepen the shame of 1840.

Anti-Slavery Petitions.

We come now to the concluding point in our review, so far as action against slavery is concerned, namely, the anti-slavery petitions which were sent to the Conference, praying for action against slavery. These petitions were from two sources, Annual Conferences and: the membership of the Church. Nine Annual Conferences and ten thousand members petitioned the General Conference to take action against slavery. It will not be denied that these petitions expressed the sentiments of the anti-slavery portion of the Church; from them, therefore, may we learn what was promised and what was expected to be done in the Conference against slavery, so far as any thing was promised and expected. So far as the Conference granted what was prayed for, so far they did something in the sense of the promises and anticipations concerned; so far as they did not grant the prayers of the petitioners, so far they did nothing, for doubtless they petitioned for what they wanted for what they expected, and for what had been promised to keep them from seceding. Three things were prayed for.

1. The repeal of the colored testimony resolution. What this has secured for anti-slavery we have seen above, and need not review it in this place. The petition was granted, but not so as to secure the object had in view by the petitioners. If they were honest in presenting these petitions, which we will not call in question, the design was to secure to colored people the right of bearing testimony to the truth against white offenders in church trials; and it has been shown above that the Conference has utterly failed to do it. Hence, while they have, *in form*, res-

pounded to the petitions, they have, *in fact*, not touched the real object of the petitioners. To have met those petitions, under the circumstances, the colored testimony resolution should have been repealed by a counter declaration, which should not only have nullified the resolution of 1840, but which should have also nullified the declaration of the Missouri Conference, and made it the duty of preachers to admit such testimony, and of the Conferences to protect them in so doing, instead of leaving all the Annual Conferences at liberty to pronounce them guilty of mal-administration, whenever they dare to take the padlock off the lips of a colored man in trials of the professed Church of Jesus Christ. We repeat, that if the petitioners were honest and intelligent, they could not have contemplated less than this, and yet the Conference made no approach to this needful reform.

2. The petitioners prayed the Conference not to elect a slaveholding Bishop. The Conference, it is true, did not elect a slaveholder to the Episcopate; they had no occasion to, having one without to their hearts content. But did the Conference do any better than to elect a slaveholding Bishop? We think not. They may have done better in the eyes of expediency, but we are sure they did not in moral principle.

(1.) They found that they had a slaveholding Bishop already on hand when they came together, and yet no man complained that there was any violation of moral principle in the Bishop's slaveholding; they declared him to be a pure man, a good minister, and more to be loved than any other Bishop on the bench.

(2.) They suffered him to remain a Bishop and a slaveholder, which was in moral principle the same as to have elected a slaveholder to the Episcopate. When the petitioners prayed against the election of a slaveholder to the Episcopate, their prayer was not founded upon objections to the act of electing a slaveholder, but to having a slaveholding Bishop. Now, there was none *elected*, yet they *have* one, the Conference therefore suffered the very thing to exist against which those petitions were directed. For the General Conference to suffer one of their Bishops to become a slaveholder and still remain a Bishop, claiming as they did the power to expel, depose or suspend, and yet doing neither, was no better in moral principle than to have elected one. In this thing therefore the petitions were disregarded, and nothing prayed for can be said to have been done.

3. The petitioners prayed the Conference to take measures entirely to separate slavery from the Church. It will not be pretended that any action was had on this class of petitions, more than to report against them, against granting the thing prayed for, and adopting such report

without discussion. We here have not only the fact that the Conference did nothing but we have their positive declaration against doing any thing. The committee reported on these petitions against taking measures to separate slavery wholly from the Church, and the Conference adopted the report. The Church is then opposed to taking measures to separate slavery from its communion. Can any action satisfy, which does not contemplate the entire separation of slavery from the Church? Let those concerned answer this: The following is a resolution adopted by a Methodist Anti-Slavery Convention held in Boston, Mass., Jan. 18, 1843.

“Resolved, That slavery being a sin, and this sin in the M. E. Church and the Church a unit, nothing short of a **SPEEDY** and **ENTIRE** separation of slavery from the Church can satisfy the consciences of *honest and faithful abolitionists*.”

After waiting more than a year, these brethren who adopted that resolution, petitioned the General Conference to separate slavery entirely from the Church, and the Conference declares that it is inexpedient to take any such action. Are they satisfied, are their consciences at ease, or have they ceased to be “honest and faithful abolitionists,” for “speedy and entire separation of slavery from the Church” is out of the question, so far as the action of the General Conference is concerned, Where are the mighty men that voted for that resolution? Crandall, Porter, Adams, Hatch, and a host of others? Up, arouse those sleeping consciences, which cannot be satisfied but by a **SPEEDY** and **ENTIRE** separation of slavery from the Church. If slavery is separated from the Church very soon, it will be by the action of slaveholders, against the avowed principles and wishes of those with whom you will be left in loving communion! We trust it has now been shown that nothing was done in the last General Conference worthy to be called anti-slavery action, nothing which ought to “satisfy honest abolitionists.” What remains is to notice the plan of division.

SECTION VI.

DIVISION OF THE CHURCH—CONCLUSION.

1. It is worthy of remark that, if the division takes place, of which we have but little doubt, it will be a Southern measure. The North have not sought it, they have not desired it, they have labored to prevent it, and have declared over and over again, that it would be an unwise and disastrous measure. The division does not take place because the North are not willing to live in communion and fellowship with

slaveholders, as heretofore, but because the South will not longer remain in connection with non-slaveholders, among whom there is a very small sprinkling of "modern abolition." The North had promised them, from time to time, that abolitionism should be put out of the Church, and they did all they could to get it out, this was openly avowed in the General Conference; it was declared that they had "fought with the dreadful spirit of abolition," and Dr. Bangs was more than once referred to as having suffered every thing but martyrdom in opposing abolition. But alas! the effort failed, and the South became satisfied that abolition would never be put out of the Church; their last hope had now failed, for they had hoped that secession was likely to do what opposition could not; that when "Scott, Sunderland & Co." seceded, abolition would be drained off, but it was now obvious that secession, instead of getting abolition out of the Church, was manufacturing *nominal* abolition in the Church, ten times as fast as the seceders could have done by remaining, and the South do not distinguish between the name and the vitality of the thing. They saw, moreover, that the Northern members, with all their protestations against abolition were compelled to succumb to its influence in many particulars, as the only successful method of opposing the seceders. This destroyed all hope of remaining in peaceful connection with the North, as the North declared themselves compelled to take positions hostile and injurious to the South, against their feelings, from pure necessity, to prevent the Northern portion of the Church from "going over to the seceders in troops." These circumstances led the South to strike for a division.

But it may be asked what led the South to be so early in the work of division, if nothing was really done against slavery, as we have maintained in this review, and as has been absolutely asserted by Dr. Bond in the great official? The answer is plain, though slavery was not *injured*, it was *offended*; though no *encroachment* was made upon it, as it has heretofore existed in the Church, positions were taken which put an end to its long cherished hope of being able some day to walk in at the Episcopal door, and receive a mitre prepared on purpose for the head of slavery. No one, witnessing the proceedings of the Conference, could doubt that slavery could no longer hope to be elected to the Episcopacy in the regular way, and the fact that they had a slaveholding Bishop in the person of James O. Andrew, was of no avail in their minds, since this fact had led to the painful discovery that no slaveholder could be elected to the Episcopacy. Slavery was not *injured* in any of its positions heretofore held in the Church, but it was *insulted* and that was more than it could bear. To speak in the use of legal terms

there was an *assault* but no *battery*; hard words were used, but hands were not laid upon slavery. It is perfectly plain that the North did not desire division, and that they did nothing to offend the South, beyond what they felt themselves absolutely compelled to do to resist the influence of secession in the North; and if division is the result, the South will be its author, it will be emphatically their measure.

2. The North are responsible for the terms and principles of the division: the North are as clearly the author of these, as the South are of the division itself. The South could say to their constituents, should they complain of the terms, we did the best we could, the North had the majority, and that majority opposed to a division, and we were compelled to accept of such terms as they would give us, or none at all; but the North cannot plead any such excuse, for they had the power in their own hands, and could dictate just such terms of division as they saw fit. If there is then any thing wrong, any thing pro-slavery in the terms proposed, the fault is justly chargeable upon the North.

We will now examine the principles of the plan of division adopted by the General Conference. There are many objections which we might urge against the principles of the division proposed, but we will confine our remarks to a few prominent ones.

1. It is essentially pro-slavery. It fully recognizes the slaveholding Christianity of the South. This is done in several ways. It is done on the plan of division, which is to give all the border conferences and churches the right of deciding to which party they will be attached, the Northern portion binding itself, when a majority has decided to go with the South, not to take the pastoral charge of the minority, or erect any churches within their limits. This fully recognizes them as a Christian fellowship, within whose limits they have no right to act, within whose limits they cannot rear churches, but upon the principle of schism. This certainly fully endorses their Christian character, and to endorse the character of a slaveholding Church, is to endorse slavery as practised by that Church.

The second resolution, providing for the preachers in case of a division, fully endorses the Christian character of the Southern division. It reads as follows:

“Resolved, That ministers, local and travelling, of every grade and office in the M. E. Church, may, as they prefer, remain in that Church, or without blame attach themselves to the Church South.

Here is full liberty given to ministers of every class to join the slaveholding Church. It is true, they have no power to prevent them, from so doing; it is well that they have no such power, but they have the

right of moral suasion, and it is their duty to use it, if slaveholding is wrong. But they have pronounced that to join a slaveholding Church is right, for they have said that they may do it **"WITHOUT BLAME."** If then they may do it "without blame," it is not morally wrong to join a pro-slavery, a slaveholding Church. There was just so much anti-slavery as that in the last General Conference, and no more. But would they say as much as that for anti-slavery secessionists in the North? By no means, it is a great sin to leave the M. E. Church and join the **ANTI-SLAVERY SECEDERS**, but men may **WITHOUT BLAME LEAVE THE M. E. CHURCH AND JOIN THE SLAVEHOLDING SECEDERS!** So much worse is it in the eyes of Episcopal Methodism, to secede from an abhorrence of slavery, than from a love of slavery; for they can call the division nothing but a secession on the part of the South, and the world knows that is for the sake of slavery. Highly elevated, morally sublime and glorious must have been the anti-slavery of the last General Conference, when it actually consented to the rightfulness of secession for the sake of slavery, for the purpose of preventing secession on anti-slavery ground!!! It is clear that they were so much opposed to slavery that there was but one thing to which they were more opposed, and that was anti-slavery.

2. We object to the plan of division because it violates the terms of their commission as ministers of Jesus Christ. The Northern division claiming to be the M. E. Church, have bound themselves never to extend their labors and their organization south of the dividing line that shall be agreed upon by a majority vote of those who are to constitute the border societies. What right had they to enter into such a contract? If they are ministers of Jesus Christ, they must acknowledge the obligation of that command which says, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," and yet in direct controvention of his command, they have agreed, yea, bound themselves by a solemn treaty that they will never extend their labors into one half of this great republic, will never preach the truth there, will never erect churches there will never send missionaries there, to enlighten the ignorant and to seek after the souls of the lost and perishing.

Will it be said that this contract was entered into with the understanding that the Southern portion of the Church would look after these interests? To this we reply,

(1.) That the best that can be made of it is, that they have handed over one half of the nation, for the safe keeping of their souls, into the hands of a slaveholding Christianity.

(2.) They have no security that Christianity will be maintained in any

of its vital forms. A purer Church than that which exists in the South has fallen and become utterly dark and corrupt, and should the South depart from the doctrines of the Church, and the forms of religion, the North are still pledged not to go there to erect other churches, and replant the living tree of Christianity. If any have doubts on this point, the following extract from the contract will settle it.

"All the Societies, Stations and Conferences adhering to the Church in the South, by the vote of a majority of the members of said Societies, Stations and Conferences, shall remain under the unmolested pastoral care of the Southern Church; and the ministers of the M. E. Church shall in no wise attempt to organize Churches or Societies within the limits of the Church South."

3. The plan of division, in our view is highly oppressive on the minority of those societies on the line, who may choose to go with the Southern party. Suppose a society of two hundred members should vote to attach themselves to the South, by a vote of one hundred and one, the ninety-nine are compelled to go with slavery or be separated from all the forms of Methodism, unless they commit the horrible sin of joining "Scottites," or join some other denomination. If the minority, in the above case, should secede from the body and refuse to go with slavery, the ministers of the M. E. Church cannot take charge of them; they can obtain no Methodist Episcopal preaching, but in violation of this solemn treaty; and hence they must be compelled to adhere to slavery, join the Wesleyans, ["Scottites,"] or abandon Methodism. We should be glad to know whence the Conference, composed wholly of ministers, acquired the right of signing away the laity by majority votes after this manner.

We have no doubt, when the dividing line is drawn, it will be a harvest day for Wesleyanism on the frontier, and we hope we may be in circumstances to improve it.

There are other objections which might be raised against the plan of division, but we will not enlarge, for if the above do not expose its absurdity, and stamp its authors with disgrace, it would be perfectly useless to say more. We will therefore proceed to conclude our review.

CONCLUSION.

Perhaps we have already taxed the reader's attention to the full extent of his patience, and even beyond endurance, but still we cannot consent to close a review of so important a matter, without submitting a few remarks, suggested by a consideration of the whole subject.

1. We have before us, in the proceedings of the last General Confer-

ence, a clear illustration of the absurdity and utter futility of *expediency*, when it is allowed to take the helm in the place of principle, and control the counsels of the Church on great moral questions. That the Conference was governed by expediency will not, cannot be denied; it was confessed in debate too many times to be forgotten. But what was the object of this expediency? It was to avoid touching the great question of slavery: and so far as they were compelled to touch it, to do it in such a way as not to produce excitement and division. Could they have managed so as to have done enough against slavery to satisfy the abolitionists, without doing so much as to alarm or offend slaveholders, the end of their deepest solicitude would have been gained. The effort was not to know what is right, what does the cause of the bleeding slave demand, what will please or offend God, but what will prevent secession, and keep the Church together, holding abolitionists and slaveholders in sweet communion. Such a course might succeed, if God had no counsel to fulfil, and no principle to vindicate: but as it is, "He taketh the wise in their own craftiness." Nothing is more common, when men of worldly expediency have got their plans all laid, and are, in their own imaginations, just on the point of realizing the end of their expediency efforts, than for God to empty the contents of this horn of confusion into their counsels, and the elements wake from their sleepy calm, the conflicting principles which have been tampered into the embrace of each other, and bound together by the treacherous and frail cords of expediency, commence their war upon each other, and the whole concern is at once exploded by the action of its own discordant elements. Such was the case with the last General Conference. If the leading journals of the Church told the truth, they expected one of the most peaceful sessions, for they proclaimed this on the eve of the assembling of the Conference. They doubtless applied their expediency principles, and had calculated in what forms they should have to meet the question of slavery, and settled it in anticipation. The most formidable shape in which they could foresee it was, in the petitions: and yet these were disposed of without a struggle. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that if no unforeseen troubles had come upon them, they would have had a peaceful session as predicted: but there were two shapes in which slavery made its appearance in the midst of their counsels, as unexpected, and yet as horrifying, as would have been two unblessed ghosts sent to them from the nether world. Still they applied their expediency principles, and refused to meet the great principles of the moral right of slavery, or rather its moral wrong; they fought not for principle, but for positions to which they laid no claim but that

of expediency; they divided: and when posterity shall inquire the cause, the faithful historian will give the answer by saying they were one in principle, but split on matters of expediency; yielding principle for the sake of union, they resorted to expediency to promote it, and by it they were divided.

2. The expediency course of the General Conference resulted, as might be expected by all who believe in a distinction between right and wrong, in a God and in a controlling Providence: that is, it resulted in a sacrifice of moral character, without securing the end for which the sacrifice was made. The Northern portion of the Church occupies an unenviable position; they have yielded all to slavery in *principle*, for the sake of *union*, and have lost the advantages of the union after all. How much better would it have been for the majority to have stood up for right, and met the consequences; they would then have been no more than divided, and division would have been no worse than it now is, while they would then have possessed the advantage of an elevated moral position. It was most certainly a fearful measure to hazard the division of the Church on an expediency measure; but had principle been assumed instead of expediency, the position would have justified itself in view of any consequences, for nothing can be plead in opposition to right. When a church can be divided by an adherence to truth and sound principles, to divide it can be no crime: but to divide a church by a measure which is urged only from motives of expediency, to say the least, is a doubtful business. Had the Conference declared their belief in the sinfulness of slavery, and taken ground in favor of its immediate abolition, making its abandonment a condition of membership, the same as any other sin, they could have lost no more on the score of division than they now have, while they would have saved their principles, their character, and their consistency, which last they sacrificed by offering up the union of the Church on the altar of expediency. Their course exhibits what error always exhibits, great inconsistency: and strange indeed it is, that those involved in it are so slow to see the awkwardness of their position. Can any thing present a greater extreme of inconsistency than the position of the last General Conference? They did for expediency what they would not do for principle; they paid a greater price for expediency than they were willing to pay for principle; they yielded principle on the question of slavery, through a fear of dividing the Church, and then clung to what they confessed to be nothing but expediency, with a tenacity which cleft it in twain!

3. When they were discussing their great principles of expediency, upon which they hung the union of the Church, they dwelt largely up-

on the consequences of division. It was then fearfully disastrous, yea, ruinous, absolutely ruinous! Some venerable men prayed not to live to see their great and glorious Church divided. But the work is in progress, the fatal blow is struck; come it must, and come it will; it hasteneth! Are they willing to die? Or do they wish to live a little longer, that they may see how it will work after it is divided, before they depart? It was declared that with a division of the Church the glory of Methodism would depart: that division would not stop with a simple line between the North and South: that division would follow division, until wicked men should rejoice, and devils grin over their ruin. Are we now to look for all this? Or were these mere rhetorical flourishes, pious frauds, designed to awaken the fears of the timorous and prevent the evils they foretold? We will not decide upon the correctness of these predictions, but leave the matter to be explained by the events of the future, hoping and praying that whatever the result may be, God may be glorified, the overthrow of slavery be hastened, righteousness and peace be promoted among men, and the Redeemer's kingdom be established in the earth: Amen.

LUTHER LEE.

REVIEW OF THE M. E. GENERAL CONFERENCE.

BY REV. E. SMITH

DEAR BR. SCOTT, — Permit me to call the attention of the readers of your paper to the action of the late General Conference on the subject of slavery. Immediately after the secession of yourself and others, a zealous effort was made to rouse the Northern portion of the M. E. Church to the sinfulness of *slaveholding*; and for this purpose, *three* very spirited Methodist anti-slavery conventions were held in quick succession, and the ground was openly taken, that if the General Conference of 1844 would not take some decided step to *put slavery out of the Church*, abolitionists would be bound to leave it. And assurances were given, that something would be done which would be satisfactory to the anti-slavery portion of the Church; for which reason, they were *urged* not to leave the Church until after the session of the Conference. The abolitionists were induced to petition the Conference, and encouraged to believe that great results would follow; and after having gotten their names to petitions, they were then told that it would be treating the

General Conference with disrespect to leave the Church before they heard what that body would do with their petitions. In a word, every effort was made that could be well made, to keep the abolitionists from leaving the Church; no means were left unemployed which promised success in the work of preventing secession.

But now that the Conference is over, what must be done? Make the people believe, if possible, that something has indeed been done, to found a hope on, that all will soon be accomplished which they desire.

This effort is already begun. I propose to review calmly the action of the Conference, and invite the anti-slavery Episcopal Methodist portion of your readers to consider with attention this (to them) most important subject.

We learn from the Report of the Committee on Slavery, that *nine* annual conferences, and about *ten thousand* members of the Church sent petitions to the General Conference. These petitioners prayed for *three things*. 1. The repeal of the resolution of 1840, on colored testimony. 2. That the Conference would not elect a slaveholding Bishop. And 3. That they "would take measures entirely to separate slavery from the Church." To the action of the Conference on these petitions, more than to any other act of that body, we must look to find what was done. The committee reported in part in favor of the repeal of the *black resolution*, which was adopted. On the sixth of June, they presented their *final* report, which was adopted. The adopted report holds this language: "Upon these points, [not electing a slave-holding Bishop, and taking measures to remove slavery from the Church, and the repeal of the black resolution,] your committee deem it inexpedient for the General Conference to take any action further than that which is recommended in their first report."—(That was the repeal of the black resolution.)

The General Conference did not elect a slaveholding Bishop, but they did say that it was inexpedient to take any action, or give any pledges on that subject. It was inexpedient to take any action on that part of the petitions. This question is still left open. They would not say, we will not elect a slaveholder—that a slaveholder ought not to be a Bishop. And it would have been truly inexpedient to say that a slaveholder ought not to be a Bishop, while a slaveholder was a Bishop. It was also inexpedient to take any measures to remove slavery from the Church. What then, I inquire, did the Conference do to remove slavery from the Church? Let the General Conference answer: "It is inexpedient to take any action on this point." So far from removing slavery from the Church, they declare that it is inexpedient even to make a beginning: so that part of the subject—the great part, remains untouched, Now,

I inquire, what did the petitioners gain? The repeal of the black resolution, which places the Church where it was before 1840, with the exception of having pro-slavery action in the case of Rev. S. Comfort remains. And this will have but little effect; for the testimony of colored persons will not be received at the South, except in a very few places, and slavery remains in the Church untouched, in all its length and breadth; yea, more, with the declaration of the Conference, that it is inexpedient to do the smallest thing to remove this foul plague spot from the Church of the living God. This is the true state of the case; and the action of the Conference on the subject of removing slavery from the Church; yea, all the action.

The subject of slavery was forced on the Conference in the order of its business, and it is claimed that anti-slavery gained much through these means. Let us examine these claims. The case of Mr Harding, of the Baltimore Conference, was the first. The history of this case is this: He had married a slaveholder in the State of Maryland, where he could free the slaves that he thus became possessed of. The Conference required him to comply with the provision of the Discipline made in 1800, and free his slaves. He refused. They suspended him, and the General Conference confirmed the suspension — confirmed the execution of a law made in 1800.— See *History of Discipline*, pp. 276-7. Now, was this taking any new ground on slavery? Surely not. The Baltimore delegation, in asking the General Conference to confirm the decision of their conference, did not ask the General Conference to place that conference on new ground, but to let them stand where they had stood for forty-four years, on the laws of the Discipline, and as long as any of them could recollect, on the usage of the Conference. If the General Conference had not confirmed the decision in Mr. Harding's case, they would have placed the Baltimore Conference on new ground — ground more favorable to slavery than any ever occupied by that body. But as it is, the Baltimore Conference stands where it has stood for the last forty-four years. This is the true state of the case.

There are two other points in the case of Mr. Harding, which will throw light on the subject.

1. The year previous, a candidate for orders had married a slaveholder and for so doing, the conference refused to ordain him, unless he would free the slaves thus obtained, which he refused to do. This, Mr. Harding saw, that a preacher could not obtain ordination after marrying a slaveholding wife — In a word, could not have a slaveholding wife and holy orders, if the wife was obtained first. So he obtained the orders first, and then a wife — took this plan to have both. His conference es-

ceived it a trick, and determined not to be tricked by him: and so brought the law of 1800 to bear on him and degraded him from the ministry by the operation of that law.

2. A large part of the Baltimore Conference is in the State of Pennsylvania: and a slaveholder would not be received well in a free State; and more, if he took any of his slaves with him, they would be free in six months; hence, slaveholders would have to be stationed in the slaveholding portions of the conference, which would trammel the itinerancy, and the conference therefore determined not to have a slaveholder in their ranks. And on this ground they have stood for many years; on this ground they asked the General Conference to allow them to stand, and their request was granted. But though the Baltimore Conference will not admit a slaveholder into their ranks, they are not by any means an anti-slavery conference. Local preachers and private members hold slaves. I know one preacher who owns about 60 slaves, or he did own that number when I knew him; and I knew many members who own slaves—one who owns about 70. These local preachers and private members are fellowshipped by the conference and esteemed good and holy. The Baltimore Conference takes ground against slavery in but one respect—the case of travelling preachers; and in that case, not because a slaveholder cannot be a good man and a good minister, but because, in the conference, it would unfit him for their work—disqualify him to go to all parts of the conference. This is the true state of the case. From all which it is as plain as anything can be, that while slavery has been made to stand still in the case of Mr. Harding, anti-slavery has not been permitted to advance a hair's breadth.

The case of Bishop Andrew comes next. It appeared from his own statement, that last winter he married a slaveholder, and thus became possessed of slaves; but that previous to that time, he had been possessed of two slaves. The laws of Georgia authorize married women to hold slaves in their own right. He conveyed the slaves obtained by his wife back to her by a deed of trust, or to a trustee, for his and her joint benefit; so says the reply to the protests; but the two he owned previous to his marriage, he still owned in his own right. This was, and still is, his connection with slavery.

The Baltimore Conference was the first to move in the matter; and Rev. A. Griffith and J. Davis offered a resolution requesting the Bishop to resign his office. Rev. Messrs. Finley and Tremabell, of the Ohio Conference, offered a substitute in these words: "That it is the sense of this General Conference, that he desist from the exercise of his [the Episcopal] office, so long as this impediment [slavery] remains." Mr.

Spencer offered an amendment to the substitute, holding the Bishop bound not to free himself from slavery by selling his slaves, but by freeing them. Mr. Finley refused to accept the amendment, and the chair decided it out of order, and Mr Finley's substitute was adopted, without restricting Bishop Andrew in any respect, as to the manner of getting free from slavery.

We would have supposed that as the Conference thought that the Bishop's holding a right to slaves unfitted him for the office of a Bishop they would certainly have entertained the proposition to prevent him from transferring that right to other, and, in all probability, worse hands, But not so: the restriction obtained no favor; and the Bishop was left free to convey his remaining slaves to his wife, or a trustee, in trust, as he had done those he obtained by her, or free himself from them in any other way; and then he might, in the judgment of the Conference, act as Bishop.

After this resolution was adopted, various opinions were entertained as to its character. Some thought it mandatory, and hence, a virtual suspension: others advisory, and not judicial in any sense. The Bishops themselves did not know how to understand it, and on the 6th of June, addressed a note to the Conference, asking official instructions on the following points:

1. What was to be done with Bishop Andrew's name? was it to stand where it formerly stood, or be stricken off the official published records of the Church?

2. How was Bishop Andrew to be paid?

3. Whether he was to do any work; and if any, what work? and how should he be appointed to it?

In answer to these questions for official instruction, the Conference passed the following resolutions:—

1. "*Resolved*, as the sense of this General Conference, That Bishop Andrew's name stand in the Minutes, Hymn Book, and Discipline as formerly."

2. "*Resolved*, That the rule in relation to the support of a Bishop and his family, applies to Bishop Andrew."

3. "*Resolved*, That, whether in any, and in what work Bishop Andrew be employed, is to be left to his own *decision* and *action* in relation to the previous action of the Conference."

The first and second resolutions were passed by a vote of over 150 to less than 20: so the vote was not a sectional one; and the third by a vote of 103 to 67. Here ended the action of the Conference on the Bishop's case: from which it appears that his name stands as a Bishop of the

M. E. Church by an overwhelming majority of the Conference: that he is to be paid as a Bishop, as the others are, and the matter of his work is left to his own *decision*; but he is to be paid his Episcopal salary, work or no work. Then he is still a Bishop, and receives a Bishop's pay, without being bound to do a Bishop's work. He may remain with his wife and take care of her, and even sell his and her slaves, and draw his episcopal salary into the bargain; he is still a Bishop.

But should this be denied, the proof is at hand, proof still more pointed than the above, that he is not only a Bishop in name and in pay, but in fact. The Southern delegation presented a protest against the action of the Conference in this case. The Conference appointed a committee to prepare a reply to said protest, which was done, and the reply entered on the journals, by a vote of 116 to 26. This reply, thus adopted by an overwhelming majority, holds this language: "The action of the General Conference was neither *judicial* nor *punitive*; it neither *achieves* nor *intends* a *deposition*, nor so much as a LEGAL SUSPENSION. BISHOP ANDREW IS STILL A BISHOP: and should he, against the expressed sense of the General Conference, proceed in the discharge of his functions, his official acts would be valid."

On the resolutions ordering Bishop Andrew's name to stand where it formerly did, and his salary to be given as formerly, Mr. Winans, of Mississippi, made an exulting, or rather a shouting speech, in which he said: Now we have an acknowledged slaveholder in the Episcopacy, by an overwhelming vote of the General Conference.

Now I inquire what has anti-slavery gained in the action on Bishop Andrew's case? He is left to decide whether it is proper to do any work or not: but "*Bishop Andrew is still* a Bishop, and in the pay of the Church at liberty to make his own decision what work he will do, or whether he will do any. He is in one respect better off than his colleagues: he may remain at home with his wife, and take care of his and her slaves, and draw his salary in the mean time, while they have to forsake the joys of home, and suffer the privations and endure the labors peculiar to this office. But should Bishop Andrew do any thing — ordain any, his ordinations would be valid. Previous to the present General Conference, there was one spot in the M. E. Church where slavery could not stand — the Episcopacy: but not so now. Previous to that Conference slaveholders were members, class-leaders, trustees, stewards, exhorters, local-preachers, travelling-preachers, presiding-elders, editors, and one a missionary secretary; now, another step is gained: slavery has reached the Episcopacy: a slaveholder is a Bishop, to all intents and purposes. This is the all and the end of Bishop Andrew's case.

So the action of the Conference has ordered the name of an acknowledged slaveholder to stand as Bishop on the official records of the Church to draw his salary, and decide his own work. This is the sum of this claimed suspension.

But the reason given for what was done, or rather the nothing that was done,—for this paradox presents their acts more correctly than any thing I can think of,—is most remarkable. No one pretended that slavery was a sin in the bishop's case; no one that his soul was polluted by his connection with it. Why then give it as the sense of the Conference, that he ought not to act as bishop until he free himself from no wrong—from no defilement? We may ask why? Why?—To prevent northern abolitionists from leaving the Church, and going to its enemies, i. e., the Wesleyans. What was done was not done to punish Bishop Andrew but to keep the abolitionists in the Church, and thus prevent them from “going to the enemies of the Church.” That was the word. The whole was a mere act of policy, to make abolitionists believe the Conference had done wonders, when in fact they had done nothing. And the Conference, after acknowledging that the Bishop was a pure man, admitted that one of the highest officers of the church, whose shield remained undefiled, might be made a sacrifice, to or for the sin of abolition, on the alter of expediency, or by its right name, policy, to keep persons from leaving the Church who held doctrines contrary to the Church. This is the most extraordinary ecclesiastical act that stains the pages of history. I know not which to be most surprised at, the reasons given for the act, or the act itself. The reasons were the antagonisms of all correct principles of action, and the act itself a mere pretence, a most unsubstantial shadow.

To sum up all, the Report of the Committee on Slavery placed the Church a little nearer slavery than she was before 1840. The action on Harding's case, left her where she had stood for forty-four years; and that on the case of Bishop Andrew has allowed, by an overwhelming vote, slavery to step up into the Episcopacy, and stand higher than it ever did before. In the *first* and *second* cases, slavery *proper* lost nothing; in the third it was permitted to step into the Episcopal throne. This is the mighty triumph of Northern principles boasted of. The Church has gained a great loss and disgrace. She stands now far below where she stood previous to the late General Conference.

The fourth case is that of the division of the Church. This is pointed out as the deliverer of the Northern portion of the Church from all participation in the disgrace and sin of slavery. I have not room in this article, already long, to examine all the provisions of this plan; and will therefore call attention to the part which provides for the division.

"*Resolved*, by the delegates of the several annual conferences in General Conference assembled, that should the delegates from the conferences in the slaveholding States find it necessary to unite in a distinct ecclesiastical connection, the following *RULE* shall be observed with regard to the Northern boundary of such connection. All *Societies, Stations, and CONFERENCES* adhering to the Church South, by a vote of a *majority* of the members of said *Societies, Stations and CONFERENCES*, shall remain under the *unmolested* pastoral care of the Southern Church; and the ministers of the M. E. Church shall in no wise attempt to organize churches or societies within the limits of the Church South, nor shall they ATTEMPT to exercise any pastoral oversight therein; it being understood that the ministers of the South reciprocally observe the same rule in relation to SOCIETIES, STATIONS, and CONFERENCES adhering by vote of a majority to the M. E. Church; provided, also, that this rule shall apply only to the *societies, stations, and conferences* bordering on the line of division, and not interior charges, which shall in all cases, be left to the care of that church within whose territory they are situated."

We see from this provision that the line is not determined; but that the societies, stations and conferences bordering on the line of the free and slave States, are to determine the line by a vote of the majority of these societies, &c.

There are four annual conferences on this line, part in the free States and part in the slave States;—Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh and Ohio. The majority of these conferences are authorized to take the whole North or South, fix the line of separation by their lines, not by the lines of free and slave States. Then each station, by a majority of votes shall determine which division it shall belong to, and then each society shall do the same thing, and thus is the dividing line to be formed. The majority in all cases shall determine where the minority shall belong. So far as the action of the four annual conferences is concerned, it will doubtless be in favor of the North. Then comes the action of the societies within the bounds of those conferences; nine-tenths of these will doubtless vote to remain in their old conferences; and this will also be the case with the stations, and nearly if not all the societies and stations in the bounds of these annual conferences will thus go to the Northern division of the Church; and thus the Northern Church will embrace a portion of Virginia, and the entire States of Maryland and Delaware, together with the slaveholding local preachers and members in their bounds, and both divisions of the Church be slaveholding; and yet the division is to satisfy abolitionists;—divide the Church, and put slavery into both divisions, which will be the case beyond all doubt, if the

Church divides. The North does not ask the division to get clear of slavery. They close their reply to the protest, expressing a hope "that the M. E. Church may still continue as one body." The North wants no division on account of slavery, or anything else. The South proposes the division, and in a way that they will be free from abolition, and leave the North in connection with slavery, and the North agrees. This is the true statement of the case. And yet abolitionists are to be satisfied with this division which frees the South from them, but does not free them from slavery. *Mark*, the division is to accommodate the slaveholders, not the abolitionists. The slaveholders ask it; the abolitionists do not. The party agreeing to the reply, 116 in number, hope the South, with all these slaves, will still remain in the Church. And *mark* further, the majority of the societies, stations and conferences are to determine where the whole society shall go; and the minority is not permitted to separate from the majority, except in case of a preacher, which is provided for in another place.

When the line is thus formed, the preachers are bound not to from societies out of the bounds of their own divisions. Each division is to remain unentered by the preachers of the other division; so that the preachers of the Southern Church cannot come into the bounds of the Northern Church to organize the slaveholders into a society, which have been carried captive in the division by the majority, into a society or church, neither can those of the North go to those who may have been carried into the captivity of Southern Babylon, to organize them into societies. Their harps must then continue to hang upon the willows. But this is not all. The whole South, slaves and masters, are delivered over to the ministry of the slaveholders, and their coadjutors forever. The abolitionists of the North are bound never to preach deliverance to the captives, or the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound. Now I inquire, what such a division will do for the slave, or for the master? Those who hold the opinions of Mr. Wesley, Dr. Clark and Watson on the subject of slavery, that it is "the sum of all villainies," "a crime for which perdition has scarcely any adequate punishment," shall never preach Wesleyanism in this particular, beyond Mason's and Dixon's line. A Northern Church is to be formed, containing slaveholders, which can never do any thing for the slave; which covenants not to go and preach the gospel to him; and this is to keep abolitionists in the Church. This is the opiate that is to quiet all the excitement of their consciences. The whole South is to be given up to the ministry of the oppressors, and the North still remain in fellowship with slaveholders. Such a division would be more, much more disgraceful

to the North than their present connection. So that when we come to throw off the mask of the action of the Conference, we see plainly that every turn they took, they made bad worse, except in the case of the black resolution.

If there was any necessity or occasion for a Methodist organization free from slavery, before the meeting of the General Conference, that necessity or occasion has been increased by the action of that body *ten fold*; and all friends of the slave, pure religion, and Wesleyan Methodism, are called, with a much louder voice, to come out of her who trades in slaves and the souls of men, and binds herself never to go and preach the gospel to those souls, than they were previous to that time.

E. SMITH.

Columbus, Ohio, July 9, 1844.

PROCEEDINGS

OF A CONVENTION OF THE SOUTH AND SOUTH-WEST- ERN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, CONVENED AT LOUISVILLE.

LOUISVILLE, MAY 1st, 1845.

This body met in the 4th street church in this place, this morning at nine o'clock, and proceeded to the work of organization by calling Dr. Pierce of Georgia to the chair *pro tem*, and the appointment of Rev. T. N. Realtston, of Kentucky Conference, secretary *pro tem*. The Rev. gentleman delivered a brief and pertinent address to the convention, urging that the present crisis demands more than ever the fervent prayer of faith. That it became them to invoke divine aid to enable them to be wise and faithful, and in accordance with long established usage the services of the session would be opened by reading a portion of holy writ, singing and prayer. He then read the 2d chapter of Philippians — and gave out the hymn commencing, "Come Holy Spirit, heavenly dove," &c.

The prayer was appropriate — assuming the division of the Church to be inevitable, and asking for the special blessing of God upon the Church South, — that he would endow the convention with wisdom, fidelity, and unity, that in meekness and gentleness they might act in accordance with the sentiments contained in the chapter they had just heard, and be qualified more abundantly than ever to spread Scriptural holiness over all these lands. Prayer being ended, Dr. Capers suggested that means be instituted to ascertain the members present. Dr. Bascom suggested that the delegates present hand in the certificates of their election from the Southern Conferences, in their order, beginning with the Kentucky Conference — the members present responding to their names, as called by the secretary.

During the calling of the names Bishops Soule and Andrew came into the convention, and were greeted with great warmth by many of the brethren, as they passed along the aisle, and were conducted by Dr. Capers and others to seats in the altar, on the left of the president and secretary *pro tem*. Bishop Soule is in usual health, and appears remarkably well. Yet the most casual observer cannot fail to perceive that he is

not at ease. Solicitude and anxiety are strongly depicted in his countenance. Bishop Andrew seems as well content as ever, and looks on with his usual coolness. Bishop Soule attested the election of the delegates from the Georgia conference, the certificates not having been forwarded to Louisville.

Dr. Capers said that the motion he was about to make accorded so entirely with his feelings, and was so entirely in unison with the character of the convention now in session, that he felicitated himself in being permitted to present it at this early hour — that the venerable Bishops now present be invited to preside over the deliberations of this convention. He said that the peculiarity of our economy should exempt us from the election of a president in the presence of our Bishops. That there is no body in our convention in which they have a right to vote, but they are competent to preside anywhere, from the General Conference down through annual and quarterly conferences, to a leaders' meeting, and even had a right to enter and lead a class if so disposed. He would not, however, urge or do anything that would involve them with their Northern brethren. We shall all be glad to have them preside, and he would therefore offer a motion to invite them to preside, in such order as might suit their convenience, and as they might arrange the work between themselves.

Judge Longstreet of Georgia, said that he had written a resolution on that subject, which, with leave, he would present, viz:

Resolved That the Bishops now in attendance be requested to preside &c.

Dr. Capers remarked that we are now acting in view of the whole Church, in view of all Christendom, and for the review of all posterity. Many eyes are upon us, and we should so act as to prevent evil talk. We do not know what may be said of us, but we do know that all manner of evil will be alleged against us. We shall be styled radical, &c. &c. We stand here this day as old fashioned, unreformed, unrevolutionized Methodists, and therefore wish to see at the head of this committee those venerable men, whom we are accustomed to see in our Annual and General Conferences, so that the world and the Church, the present and the future, may see these men presiding over all our deliberations.

Judge Longstreet said he fully accorded with the views of Dr. C. We are here as the delegates of the Annual Conferences which we represent. They are our Bishops and ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church — and as they preside over the Conferences we represent, they should preside over us, inasmuch as those conferences are here by

delegation. I trust they will not refuse — they know how to preside, are acquainted with all the facts which have led to this convention, and to the peculiarities of our condition. We wish them as our officers to preside over this Methodist meeting, and hope they will feel no reluctance whatever. Dr. Payne of Tennessee, approved the sentiments advanced. He said that we have met by at least the indirect authority of the General Conference. They left us to act at our discretion on a great connectional question, according to the plan of the committee of nine, and the presiding of the Bishops will do much good, and can do no evil. Most of the Conferences in the South invited the Bishops to attend, and we ask for what? They have no vote. We do not intend to do any thing that is wrong. We will only do what the late General Conference recommended to be done.

B. T. Croutch of Kentucky approved the remarks of his brethren. The Bishops are at our head. They are looked up to by all, as the guides and guardians of all that properly belongs to us. They naturally care for the Church — for the whole Methodist family, whether they live in the North or the South, and we have met to dispose of a difficulty of the Church, of the whole Church, of which they are the general superintendents; and we are here in accordance with the act of the late General Conference, and it is fit and proper that they should be invited to preside.

John Early said we should be extremely cautious how we proceed. We were so at New York when we prepared the protest. The General Conference sanctioned our meeting. We were cautious in preparing our circular to the Southern Churches. All hitherto has been done with the utmost caution. We are not to care what ignorant or prejudiced persons think, write or speak, concerning us. We must go straight forward in our duty, turning neither to the right nor the left. We have not met here to discuss the question of division or no division, but to consummate our instructions the best way we can, according to the plan of the committee of nine and by the authority of the General Conference.

We intend to identify the Bishops now present with us, and ourselves with them, and in so doing who shall dare to hold the rod over the head of the venerable man at your left, Mr. President, or the beloved Bishop by his side? And if they do, what do we care for it? Let us not fear what others may say, or do. We should not inquire what others may think, but invite the Bishops to preside, and thus associate ourselves forever. Bro. Stringfield said he wished to say a word to one important point — viz, we are Episcopal Methodists. We believe in and in-

tend to have our Episcopacy, and therefore he was in favor of the motion. A brother, whose name we did not get, suggested an amendment to the motion so as to include all the Bishops of the Church who may attend. Mr. Longstreet refused to alter the resolution, inasmuch as some other Bishops may attend, whom we would not like to have preside.

Dr. Capers thought it best to let it alone. If other Bishops attend, the convention can by vote invite them to preside. If Bishop Morris should come, the Bishops would feel at perfect liberty to invite him to assist. The resolution pertains to the Bishops now present, and was due to them. He liked friends to help him in time of need — to lay hold when he began to strain on the log, and they deserve the best bow of the convention for meeting so promptly with them. The motion was then put and carried unanimously. Bishop Soule assured the convention that he felt a deep and abiding interest in all the matters pertaining to the convention. He would say, in perfect harmony with his colleague, that he wished the convention to proceed to-day as at present organized, — to-morrow we will make a communication to the convention.

Mr. Early moved that the convention adopt for its government the rules of the last General Conference. Question was not put.

Mr. Early was then nominated as secretary of the convention.

Dr. Wm. A. Smith of Virginia, opposed the nomination, on the ground that Mr. E. owed higher, and more important and solemn services to the Church, and was in favor of the appointment of some one who is not a member of the convention, as every delegate was expected to be at his post and do his duty — duty infinitely more solemn and important than the mere mechanical work of reducing to records the doings of the convention. He hoped that the Rev. T. A. Sargent, of Baltimore Conference, would consent to serve them, as he had rendered so much service to the late General Conference in that way. This Mr. S. was understood to decline.

Dr. Capers dissented from Dr. Smith; he never had considered it a degradation to be appointed secretary to an Annual or General Conference, but rather an honor. Hoped we should not be compelled to go out of the body for a secretary, and thus put the convention under proscription.

Mr. Early thanked the brethren for the honor they intended him, but begged to be excused.

A number of the brethren were nominated, and after several ballottings Rev. Thomas O. Summers, of Alabama, was elected secretary of the convention, and T. N. Rollston, of Kentucky, assistant.

Dr. Capers submitted some remarks on a resolution which had been introduced by another, "to form a committee" to ascertain whether competent reporters can be procured and to devise means to defray the expenses. He urged attention to this matter at an early date, and especially as to the means for defraying the expense, reminding the brethren that they had no book concern to resort to.

Mr. Early said that he wished the doings of the convention to be spread fully and freely before the public eye. A large portion of the church every where are ignorant of the grounds of our action. We have been misrepresented and refused redress, so much so that preachers have been found who have put the question to churches for their action in this wise—"are you for division or against it?"—and hence many have been deceived as to the true question. As to funds, there are men here who will see there shall be no lack on that score. Let reporters be employed.

Dr. Capers said we could not get a perfect report of the speeches delivered here. The report of the late General Conference demonstrate it. Those reports show that some men made very clever speeches, while others are shown up to poor advantage. He said that some extra features of a speech might get localized, such as finger ends—hair on the head of a bald man, &c., but some how or other, the bone and sinew of many of the speeches was lost, and it is impossible to procure a full representation; said he thought some of his speeches had some common sense to them, but really when they came from the hands of the reporters they were so meagre and ill favored that he could hardly recognize them as his progeny at all. *Mr. Earley* thought we would have advantages here which we had not in New York. Local prejudices would not operate against us here.

Dr. W. A. Smith said he was in favor of employing reporters by all means. They present most potent motives to speakers to keep dumb. The thought that what I say is put down, and there must stand, and I be reviewed in the light of what I have said, garrulous as I am reputed to be, and doubtless am, this thought would hinder me much. He thought that generally men who speak least at General Conference are most likely to be re-elected; besides our position is peculiar and delicate 1st as to ourselves. We must provide that we be represented as we are—or others will do it for us. I must go on my own hook, and stand before the church and community in such form as I exhibited; then I take the responsibility. 2d, we are bound to provide reporters in behalf of the public; we owe it to them that we show the grounds of our contemplated action; they must know our ground before they can tol-

erate our claims or vindicate our position. 3d, we owe it to the church to spread our reasons calmly, and freely and fully before them. The Church, North, East, West and South does not know the ground of our action. How could they? The editors of the Church papers have misrepresented Church action and individual sentiments; have published false statements and refused to publish corrections. Again, there may be a Southern organization; in that event posterity must be provided with facts which will speak out for us when we are dead and cannot speak to the then living. The grand reason why there has been so much contention relative to the meaning of the varying legislation of the Church on the subject of slavery from A. D. 1784, is to be found in the fact that no reporters were employed, and thus the whole matter is debateable until now.

Mr. Early consented to strike out the clause providing for means to defray expenses for reporting, and a committee was appointed on reports, compose of Rev. Messrs. Early, Bascom, Paine, Bond, English, Hamilton, Wightman, McFerrin, Lee and Brush.

Mr. Early moved that the secretary be authorized to procure a suitable book or books in which to record in permanent manner the doings of this convention, and remarked that the book should be of a kind that would correspond with the character of this convention, and be of service as a book of record of the doings of the General Conference when formed.

Mr. McFerrin thought that a book might be purchased that would answer the purposes of the convention without the expense of from \$15 to \$30, as stated by the secretary. Besides, he objected to incorporating in resolutions or speeches references to a General Conference not yet formed. He thought it best to do one thing at a time, and attend to things as they occur. He thought that by the time they needed a book for the new General Conference, books will be cheaper.

Mr. LeRoy M. Lee wished to know what disposition the convention would make of the papers of the convention in New York, held after the adjournment of the General Conference, committed to his care, and now completed and ready for delivery. Some one replied that they would be engrossed in the book which would be purchased, and form a part of the history of the case. No action was had on this point.

Mr. Early moved to appoint a committee to report rules for the government of this convention; the following persons were appointed — Longstreet, Capers, Wm. A. Smith. Dr. Capers said that many things had been done in a hurry to-day — he was sorry to see it and

was sorry that some things were done. (1) Was anxious to know whether our Bishops will grant our request and preside over the convention. Convention then adjourned, to meet to-morrow morning at half past eight o'clock.

Mr. Dunwoody engaged in prayer, in which he begged the Lord to give them and the Church in their care unity of sentiment. From the drift of his devotions we inferred that unity among the delegates and Church in the South was the desideratum wished for rather than possessed. The delegates are nearly all present, upward of 100 we suppose. They cling with great tenacity to the report of the committee of nine, by which they profess to be governed. They appear to be firm in their purpose to divide. The general impression is that division in some shape will be the result.

The following is a list of the delegates present:

KENTUCKY CONFERENCE — H. B. Bascom, DD., Edward Stevenson, H. H. Kavanaugh, B. T. Crouch, Wm. Guinn, G. W. Taylor, G. W. Brush, J. C. Harrison, B. H. McCown, J. King, J. James, and T. N. Balston.

MISSOURI — A. Monroe, Jesse Green, J. Glanville, W. Browning, W. Patton, J. H. Linn, Thos. Johnson and J. Boyle.

HOLSTON — Creed Fulton, T. K. Catlett, T. Springfield, R. M. Stevens and T. Sullins.

VIRGINIA — T. Crowder, J. Early, W. A. Smith, DD., L. M. Lee, H. B. Cowles, D. S. Daggett, A. Penn and A. Dibrell.

NORTH CAROLINA — S. S. Bryant, J. T. Brame, H. G. Leigh, B. T. Blake, P. Doub and R. J. Carson.

MEMPHIS — M. Brock, G. W. D. Harris, W. McMahan, T. Joyner, A. Davidson, W. L. McAlister, and T. Smith.

TENNESSEE — R. Paine, DD., J. B. McFerrin, A. L. P. Green, F. E. Pitts, A. F. Driskill, J. W. Hanner, J. Boucher, T. Maddin, F. G. Ferguson and R. L. Andrews.

MISSISSIPPI — L. Campbell.

ARKANSAS — John Harrell, J. Custer, J. F. Truslow, and J. C. Parker.

INDIAN MISSION — D. B. Cumming and E. T. Peery.

SOUTH CAROLINA — W. Capers, DD., W. M. Wightman, H. A. C. Walker, S. Dunwoody, B. English, W. Smith, S. W. Capers and R. J. Body.

GEORGIA — J. Borring, L. Pierce, DD., J. W. Glenn, J. E. Evans, S. Anthony, J. B. Poynes, A. B. Longstreet, LL. D. and J. Brong.

FLORIDA — P. P. Smith and T. C. Benning.

ALABAMA — J. Hamilton, DD., J. Boring, DD., Thos. O. Summers, T. H. Capers, E. V. Levert and E. Callaway.

TEXAS — L. Fowler and F. Wilson.

LOUISVILLE, Friday, May 2.

Convention was opened by Dr. Capers. He read the second chapter of Gallatians, and gave out the hymn commencing,

“Unless the Lord conduct the plan,” &c.

The prayer was appropriate. Considerable discussion took place respecting the title of the convention. They styled themselves a convention of delegates from, &c. elected by said Conferences on the basis of the plan of division warranted by the late General Conference. After some conversation, they found that the “plan” was a plan for *separation*, and not for division, which seemed to be quite a discovery, and not very palatable. They seemed to be aware that there is a great deal in a name. Messrs. Early and Longstreet presented reports. One on reporting for the press. The other on rules for the convention. Both were accepted.

Bishop Soule said, “Long as I have presided in the councils of the church, I have seldom, if ever, felt as I feel now. The occasion is one of deep interest and solemnity. The results of the doings of the convention will be all important, to all the interests concerned, whether we consider them in reference to the world at large, the political union of these United States, or the Church of the living God. You should therefore act with the utmost moderation and deliberation. It is known to all who are acquainted with our affairs, that I have entertained and announced the opinion, ever since last May, that the action of the General Conference, on that occasion, would ultimately sever the Church.

This opinion was not formed hastily, but was the result of a careful analysis of that action, and the connection between causes and effects. In this opinion I was not and am not alone, and nothing that has occurred since has altered my opinion. I deeply regret the present disastrous condition of the Church, and have labored, as much as in me lieth, to confine the evil within as narrow bounds as possible. I have urged the brethren in the South to keep close to, and carry out strictly the plan of separation—a peaceable and amicable separation—as made and provided by the General Conference, so as to leave the way open for a free and friendly intercourse between all the branches of the great Wesleyan family.

And I beg this convention to keep strictly within the plan of separation. I rejoice to find the Southern Conferences firm and ardent in their devotion to Methodism, as delivered to us by our forefathers. I move not out of the record of the discipline, and am not to be moved from its firm foundations. You are here in the same spirit. Be ye steadfast, immovable. Your present convention and future course grow out of the peculiarities of your condition, and in view of the peculiarities you will act as sound discretion warrants. I have duly considered your request of yesterday, inviting me to preside in this convention, and having scanned the course in all its bearings on the present and the future, after every view, I can take of it, I have deliberately decided to accept your invitation. And I take great pleasure in saying that in this decision I have the entire approbation of my worthy colleague, Bishop Andrew; my worthy colleague Bishop Morris, now present, deems it inexpedient for him to participate in this work, and cannot harmonize it with his sense of duty, in view of his relations. I appreciate his reasons, and justify his determination, which, so far from lessening him in the estimation of any one here or elsewhere, should exalt him in the estimation of all. I will therefore serve you as best I may, for the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

The Bishop then took his seat, amidst an enthusiastic expression of delight from the convention, variously manifested — even to stamping with the feet. The Bishop performed his part of the affair with his usual dignity, and the convention seemed elated and delighted, and proceeded to business with increased avidity and confidence.

Several motions, variously modified, were presented to the convention by Rev. Messrs. Early, Smith, Capers and others — amounting to the creation of a committee, composed of two members from each Conference, to consider the entire ground of our difficulties, the Harding & Andrew cases, plan of separation, and the best methods of securing the objects for which the convention met; that this committee hold its sessions privately, excluding all from its counsels who are not members of the convention.

Mr. Stringfield opposed this last feature of the measure, contending that all efforts at secrecy would only tend to create suspicions. That all the South needs is light on the subject. The motion however prevailed.

Dr. Capers withdrew the motion, saying that he wished these points well investigated and carefully guarded. We have been — not to use the harsher word falsely — but at least strongly represented, both in New York and Cincinnati, by the editors of the Church papers at those

points, as influenced to our action by the delegates on their return from General Conference, and by the preachers in their intercourse with the people.

Dr. Capers presented a motion to raise a committee of one from each Conference, to inquire into the Harding and Andrew cases; the state of the vote in the Southern Conferences; the plan of separation; the action of quarterly meeting Conferences, and the spontaneous action of the primary meetings of the people.

Dr. Smith opposed the motion, inasmuch as the ground of it was covered by the resolution they had just passed.

Dr. Capers moved that a committee of nine be created to mature a plan for the future maintenance of the missionary operations in the South to be presented to the Annual Conferences of the South and Southwest.

Judge Longstreet was opposed to the measure as premature — we do not know as yet what we are ourselves — and this step he deemed entirely premature.

Dr. Capers said the missions were degraded, and if we wait for the former committee to perform its Herculean labors, before any arrangements are made for the support of our missions, by a plan peculiar to our new organization, brethren at that late period would become impatient to return home, and thus this department would be neglected.

Mr. Early was in favor of the measure. In 8 or 10 days we may report a plan of separation and consummate it, and then if the missionary department is not ready it would be a serious evil. I will not vote for any separation at the loss of any of the peculiarities of Methodism. I love and will have her doctrines, discipline and institutions.

Judge Longstreet said there was no difference between him and Bros. Capers and Early, but he deemed the action premature. We are as yet in our chrysalis state — we are not yet formed. We have not got our bones and muscles and sinews. And suppose we should find it unnecessary to organize, and go back to the *old Church*. (Several voices here cried out, "who is the old Church?") And if we do organize, is it certain that we shall make the General Conference omnipotent as the *old one*, competent to make and unmake at pleasure, and leave the bare will of the majority the exponent of its powers? If there is no reform on the subject of General Conference power, if its powers be not defined and established, so that we can know what it is and what it is not, we will dissolve into our original elements, and establish what we do know, and not leave General Conference powers to be defined by mere majorities. He thought the measure premature and therefore he should oppose it.

Dr. Capers rose, much excited. Said he was very sorry to hear the remarks which had just been made. The views presented and the assertions made involve entirely new doctrines to me. In all my intercourse with Southern preachers these sentiments have never before been broached; if they prevail he desired to be done with the concern. He wanted no reform on the constitution. We are true Methodists; we find no fault with her at all. All we complain of is that our Northern brethren will not let her float on her own bottom and in her own seas. We are on the old ship and we will not give her up. If she sinks we had rather go down with her than leave her. Some persons have started novel doctrines with respect to her, and where they got them or what they are I do not know; whether Latin, Greek, Hebrew or Indian. Before God and man — inside and out — I am a Methodist, just as much so as when God converted my soul. Could I invoke from heaven the spirit of Francis Asbury I would assert to him that I am now as much as ever a Methodist.

Judge Longstreet said, The sentiments of *Dr. Capers* are mine exactly, only I want that Latin and Greek and Hebrew translated, so that we can all know what it is, and not lie in the bosom of majorities to come up as spectres and terrify and tyrannize at will. I do not regret my speech at all, but am very glad it has occasioned the remarks from *Dr. Capers*.

Dr. Bascom said that the true question is, will we have time, if we conclude on a new organization, to attend to all these matters after we come to that conclusion? Several committees must be appointed on books, literature, periodicals, and the property question.

The question of committees on missions was then put and adopted.

Dr. Bascom wished a committee of two from each Conference to consider, not Mr. Harding's case and Bishop Andrew's — a plan of separation, &c. but to inquire into the necessity and propriety of a new organization, according to the plan authorized by the General Conference. We have no use in this question for Harding and Andrew.

Bro. Lee then moved to reconsider *Early's* resolution.

Mr. Smith was disposed to agree with *Dr. Bascom*, until he spoke of Harding and Andrew's case, saying we had no use for them. We have much use for them; they are necessary to make out our case to the community, and this necessity is increased by the fact that facts have been misrepresented on one hand and suppressed on the other. Yes sir, plain and endorsed facts have been misrepresented or suppressed both in New York and in Cincinnati, by papers of our Church; and thus thousands are ignorant as to the position of those who have been called the leaders in the South. And hence we have not that measure of sym-
 pa-

thy, on the border nor even in Louisville, which we expected, and which the facts when known will produce. I know that Kentucky is only on this side of the Ohio river, yet sir, Kentucky will be erect when she has had the opportunity to understand this subject. The report of the committee must contain a true history of the Harding and Andrew cases. We can't do without them, no more than we can do without our venerable Bishop.

Dr. Bascom explained that his resolution embraced those cases.

The resolution was then reconsidered.

Dr. Early moved that a committee of two from each Annual Conference represented be appointed, to consider the necessity and propriety of a new organization, and the best means to carry out the plan of the General Conference.

B. T. Crouch presented documents from several circuits, addressing divers questions to the convention, which he was permitted to present. 1st. Is there ground to hope that our Northern brethren will so compromise this difficulty as to secure the rights of Southern ministers and members? 2d. If it is determined necessary to form a new organization, will or will not this convention agree to refer the consummation of it until the next General Conference shall have acted on the premises? 3d. If the Church South decline the jurisdiction of the General Conference, can the Methodist Episcopal Church continue its being and jurisdiction in the South? These papers were referred by *Dr. Bascom* to the committee on organization. The papers in the hands of *L. M. Lee* were ordered to the same committee, and to be recorded in the book to be purchased for the convention. The convention passed the residue of the session in prayer.

Thus you see that yesterday was indeed the day of developments. The course of *Bishop Soule* has strengthened the hands of the South and severed the last attenuated ligament which bound the convention to the Church. The firm course of *Bishop Morris*, in opposition to their special request, greatly alloyed their satisfaction. Many of them confidently boasted that he was with them, and exultingly spoke of triumph under the Episcopal trio.

The highly imprudent remarks of *Judge Longstreet* gave them great distress and mortification. But truth will out—the reforming revolutionary feelings, prematurely (for them) developed by him, exist extensively, and show that the great evil and peculiarity of the day is rampant in the Church, viz: “*A spirit of insubordination to duly constituted authority.*” They are moving right on to the work of separation. It is evident that the leaders have laid out their course, and will accomplish the cher-

ished purpose of their hearts. Yet their course does not meet with popular favor. I verily believe that they have got before the spirit of the times; community is convinced that slavery is indeed a great and alarming evil, and only to be endured, not cherished, by men in whose bosoms beat the hearts of freemen.

The seal of reprobation is set heavily upon it, and were it associated with Seraphim and Cherubim, open to human vision, it would not sanctify it; its deformities would only be seen in stronger contrast or create the suspicion that Satan had thus transformed himself for diabolic ends. Thus an intelligent lawyer of Kentucky — whose prejudices and sympathies are all with the South — dryly remarked the other day — “It is passing strange to see troops of preachers of the Gospel assembling to sanctify and perpetuate slavery.” And he was not chargeable either with the crudities of abolitionism in its indiscriminate and headlong course.

SATURDAY MORNING, May 3d.

Rev. J. Early opened by reading scriptures, singing and prayer.

John Early moved that the convention adjourn till Monday morning, inasmuch as they must have a report from the committee on organization before further action can be had. Motion was withdrawn.

Judge Longstreet offered a resolution to the effect that no memorials will be received after next Tuesday. *Mr. Early* modified it so as to say that the convention would not delay action for memorials after that period.

Dr. Capers deemed it expedient (he said that was a good word, though it had been much abused), that an authenticated report from the committee on organization should be prepared by competent persons. He had great confidence in the committee on reports, but from the very nature of the case they must be imperfect. It would be more than human for them to give a perfect report — catching it with interruptions as they needs must do. He therefore moved to reconsider the vote on reporters.

Mr. Wightman said the duty of the reporters is to report the proceedings of the convention — their acts and doings, nor their speeches; — if there is any omission he would thank any brother to point it out.

Dr. Capers said that as far as he was concerned he did not take any exceptions, but was free to say that he wished nothing had been reported officially of Bishop Soul's speech, or that a perfect copy had been given to the public. We have not come here to make crack speeches to immortalize ourselves, but to do the business of our mission.

Mr. Ferrin said the resolution only required them to report a synop-

sis of the doings of the convention. I regret that the report of Bishop Soule's speech is so short. I have a fuller one written out, which I will publish if it is desirable. After we get through business here we will publish our journal. As to the speeches of the brethren, we left them on the balmy air, to be gathered, up as best they may be.

L. M. Lee said he thought it was the duty of the committee (of which he was one) to report the acts and doings and not the speeches of members. The convention had only allowed them \$25 to pay reporters with, and defray expenses. Small allowance, indeed — and what could they expect from that? It reminded him of the servant girl who married a lurchback — when her mistress expressed her surprise, the girl replied, "What could a person do with only five pounds?"

Besides, we find it very difficult to report speeches of members — when Dr. Capers speaks he flashes sun-beams all around him, and we cannot catch the fugitive rays — when others speak they perplex us vastly — their ideas and words are so large that they overwhelm us and we cannot extricate ourselves. The ideas of others again are so small that we cannot detect or catch them at all. If you will give us more funds we will do the best we can with them.

There are difficulties in this matter — but you have three editors on the committee, and they will grapple with them; and you know that we editors are used to being linked — we will do all we can.

Mr Green of Tennessee moved that Bishop Soule be requested to furnish a copy of his speech for publication; then we shall have neither more nor less. Carried by a rising vote.

The names of the members of the missionary committee were then announced.

FOURTH DAY.

MONDAY MORNING, May 5th.

Convention opened with the usual exercises by Dr. Winans.

Dr. Winans moved the following resolution: —

Resolved, That the committee on organization be instructed to inquire whether or not anything has transpired during the past year to render it possible to maintain the unity of the Methodist Episcopal Church under the same general conference jurisdiction, without the ruin of Southern Methodism.

He said the resolution implied that one year ago a state of things existed which decided that the union could not be continued without ruin

to Southern Methodism. This assumption is necessary to warrant our convention and justify our course. Not is it expedient, but is it necessary to our being that we divide? Is the assumption true? Yes, it is so plain that argument is useless. Every one who is familiar with the South knows that slavery is so interwoven with the texture of society that no church can disentangle itself from it—if desirable, it is not possible. The various mutations of society will bring it upon them. Public opinion rallies around it with watchful vigilance. If any men array themselves against it they are disqualified for usefulness in civil, political or religious life. We all know that Dr. Coke's misguided anti-slavery influence has shut many doors against Methodism and does yet, although the church has changed her policy.

When the late General Conference took an open opposition to slavery they rendered it impossible to maintain Methodism in the South. The preachers could have borne the outrage on their rights, being used to sacrifices, but they were thereby disqualified to spread Scriptural holiness over these Southern lands. This they stated to the majority—are they not sustained by the South? Listen to their voices. Their error was that they bore too long the outrage and affront. Who is to judge of its necessity? If they would not believe the delegates, let them hear the members of the South. Shall the Christian Advocate and Journal or Dr. Elliott decide the matter? They view things through a distorted medium; through the medium of their prejudices, interests and commitments. They are incompetent. The South alone can judge in this matter, and her verdict is that union cannot be sustained except at the ruin of the South. The General Conference justified and provided for a peaceful separation. The case demands the severance and we shall be wanting in fidelity to our flocks in the South if we pause a moment.

Let us inquire whether any thing has occurred since then to alter this necessity. Nothing. The South has not indicted submission. We know of but one man in New Orleans, 1 in Natchez, and 3 in Mississippi, who are opposed to division. This is a great array indeed to justify us in drawing back from the peaceful step of separation. Twelve or fifteen conferences represented here present the same aspect. No hope from the South then. But the property question has been urged. I will not say that those who started it are governed by interested motives. But suppose the worst—that every parsonage and church and college would be sacrificed. should we pause a moment for this? No. The man who would propose it would deserve to be branded with infamy forever. But I do not fear such a result.

There is equity in the land. Its eye will not be blinded or its ear closed to the voice of truth. We shall hold all our property by as sure a tenure as any in the M. E. Church. But that point cannot be settled here. Compromises have been proposed. Has any come from the majority? If so what does it imply? Why, that we must quietly lie down and take the chastisement that Mother Church may choose to inflict. The North is composed of far seeing Yankees. They know we cannot be hoodwinked, and though they have shouted over the prospect of compromise, they have been sparing in proposals, as Yankees are wont to be. "We must submit to the present and prospective degradation of the eldership of the Church. And they will not elect an abolition Bishop." Wonderful concession! "An almighty tall concession, that," as Kentuckians say. I have no objection to an abolition Bishop in the South. His heart may burn within him on slavery till his bones ache. He will be innoxious there.

If he is a prudent man, and will counsel with prudent men, he will keep the peace, I will warrant you. Who or what is an abolitionist? He is an abstraction—you cannot measure him—he changes as fast as French fashions—a mere ideality. He is one who acts on the principles of an abolitionist. The majority of the late General Conference were abolitionists, as we understand the term.

That slavery is sinful in all circumstances is the radical idea of abolitionism. Now how can we find out this abstraction, lying away down in the core of a man's heart? A mere ideal abstractionist. I pity the man's brains who penned the compromise in hope of success—any African among us would detect its fallacy. Another proposal, which caused a shout of glory, is presented, viz: a proposal to let slavery be managed by us exclusively. But the majority deny that there is or has been any compromise, and if there were, it is repalable by a majority when they please. But the futility of this is seen in that this comes from the South. Has the North responded to it favorably?

No sir, no—they will not give such a pledge, if it were adequate to such an emergency. And is this all the hope we have of union? Some wish us to pause but not draw back—I would be glad to pause ten or fifteen years if need be—yea to lay my life down if I could secure so desirable a result as continued unity. But what reason have we to pause—Will the South depart from her present position? No, never. Is there a growing disposition to conciliate on the part of the North? Do you find it in the New York papers or in Dr. Elliott's late editorial? No, they take higher ground than ever, and present a firmer front than ever before. Why then wait? If we reason from the past to the future, we cannot pause.

If we neglect this rule, we may pause and rue it. Some say wait till the General Conference. Why? will they get better? or will we be able to whip them? No, neither, — never. They have got the majority and they will keep it. They can make a four weeks circuit out of two appointments. We cannot whip them. We can out-speak them but we cannot out-vote them. Besides they cannot recede; it would hurt their tender consciences. If we wait till another General Conference they will conclude that they have triumphed, and will ultimately prevail. Are we prepared for this? No. Let the committee on organization strain their eyes in every direction and if they can discern a cloud as big as a man's hand, let them shout glory; I will be as glad as any one. But that does not exist. If we pause we must submit to the despotism which imposed our degradation on us.

Dr. Capers said he knew of no proposition from the North. There may have been some anonymous ones; but they are not worthy of being noticed here. The General Conference authorized a plan of separation, if the necessity existed for it. While the South were speaking out on that necessity, the Northern Conferences have only the more aggravated our condition. The General Conference are abolitionists as explained by Dr. Winans. I never heard any sentiments in the South adverse to the action of the minority in the late General Conference. Indeed they complained that we were too tardy; we should have left and come home immediately. One fortnight more would have ruined some of our missions. The Ponpon missions were just saved, and that was all. I am a Methodist — all that is in me, that is good, came through her instrumentality. My mother was a Methodist, and I love the cause. Methodism, our good mother, has always had something to trouble her — radicalism — the presiding elder question — and now slavery. On the question of presiding elders the West and South united and saved the Church; if New England had succeeded I verily believe that, ere this time, we would have been without a Bishop. The late General Conference action was radicalism, and now ruin threatens her again. Yet I hope for the unity of the M. E. Church, and that hope rests upon our firm, prompt, absolute separation. This may seem paradoxical, but it is my view of the matter. We do not wish to go back to the General Conference to fight. For my part I do not believe in the late General Conference Episcopacy. "Bishops are on a par with editors, agents and class-leaders." The mockery of holy words in a meaningless ordination service. We cannot resign ourselves to be sent any where into the hands of a man whom God did not give us as a Bishop — but only a Bishop as the General Conference constitutes and gives us one. No sir, we will

stand as high as preachers as ever we did, and we will place and hold you, venerable sir, (Bishop Soule) as high as God placed you by his grace.

They may push us off the log, but they cannot push us out of the territory of Methodism. Thus acting, the time will come when we shall have overtures from the North — for very shame's sake they will make them. I therefore think we had better not retard the committee on organization by instructions.

Mr. Crowder stated the contents of the resolution. We are responsible to public opinion for our course: we shall shield ourselves by making the inquiry. We owe it to the Northern brethren — we owe it to some few in the South, who think we ought to pause. These must be soothed and made to ally with us — We must demonstrate the imperious and palpable necessity of this course to North and South. I believe the time has come when we must take this step. I have never hesitated in my mind a moment since the late General Conference.

Mr. Spear moved that a committee be raised of one from each Conference to inquire into the powers of this convention and report as soon as possible.

Dr. Capers opposed it. The former committee will attend to this.

Dr. Early opposed it. It was withdrawn.

Mr. Drake, of Mississippi Conference, presented a resolution to instruct the committee on organization in the event of separation to provide a plan for the re-union of the Church, so as to secure the interest of the South and at the same time meet as far as may be the views of our brethren in the North. We may not be able to do this immediately, yet we hold many views in common with our brethren in the North, and union is desirable in the South. Division is deplored by both North and South. It is possible therefore to have union. I do not now speak of the terms of union. I have, however a plan, and my hope is, that the North will move to us.

Judge Longstreet said it is an erroneous view that we are going to divide the Church any farther than her temporal economy and jurisdiction are concerned. We have quarrelled about slavery for nearly 50 years. We are going to separate on that subject now, and this will produce peace. The Bishop who attended the late New England Conferences said they were remarkably peaceful sessions, and why? Because they had nothing to say or do on slavery. But the Church will not let us alone like the screws in mechanics, they hold all they have and get more at every turn.

Messrs. Ferrin, Green and others opposed the resolution on the ground that if they passed it, it would be endorsing it by the resolution.

Mr. Early was in favor of the resolution. The South only needs light Bishop Hamline and Dr. Olin admitted that we were on the edge of a precipice and could not advance or recede. Hence the plan of separation by the committee of nine. I will read extracts from it. (Reads.) I should think that Dr. Bond and Dr. Elliott had never seen this plan. How different their tone from that of the plan. We conclude that the necessity of the separation, as referred to in the plan, does now exist, and we have been sent here to consummate it. We will have no change in our doctrines, discipline or usages, and we will leave the door open till judgment day, if necessary.

We wish for a fraternal separation, and the liberty to manage our own affairs. The discipline contains a compromise. Let the North come and say, we will let you alone, and we will hail it with a shout. If the abstract question, "Will you divide," had been presented to the late General Conference, they would have answered in thunder—No. I hope the resolution will pass, and we go home and let the controversy die. The Southern members have spoken out. In the North they have not been permitted to speak out. During my stay in Cincinnati, on my way here, the Mayor of that city, Mr. Spencer, said that the people are ignorant of the facts in the case, and advised us to pause, saying, we will get up a press here in Cincinnati to inform them on this subject, and I will give \$500, and brother—— will give \$500 more, &c. &c. We must enlighten the people, and I am in favor of leaving the door open till the day of judgment, if you please.

Messrs. Stringfield and Monroe were in favor of the motion—it was adopted.

Dr. Winans said he wished to present a supplement to his speech this morning. Many feared that the separation contemplated would tend to sever the political union of these United States. If so it assumes a very important aspect. Yet if I believed it would, still I would vote just as I shall, for with me principle outweighs expediency. I would vote for division of the Church if it would divide the union of the states. But I think differently. I verily believe that we shall strengthen the union of these United States by dividing. I will submit a few reasons in favor of this point. The influence of abolitionism on church and state has only been procured by agitation.

The people of the M. E. Church would not have risen up, as they have done, were it not for the agitation which has been effected. Agitation, agitation, agitation has been the watchword and reply. The union of our Church would not have been jeopardized but for agitation. Now this agitation must lay hold of some strong principle, feeling or interest in

the bosom of the man addressed, or the agitator will have labored in vain. They have found that their appeals must be to religious feelings; must be planted on the ground of religious principles in order to effect any thing. Religion must be desecrated to their evil purposes, or they will not succeed.

They say to the members in the North that we ministers and people are stained with the guilt of slavery. You their fellow members in the North are identified with them. You of Passamaquoddy bay — New Hampshire — Vermont and Connecticut. You share their guilt by connection with them, and thus they produce an agitation by involving them in the guilt of slavery. Now what will be the effect of separation? Why it will take away the hold of the agitator on personal cases. He may rant as much as he can about the guilt and horrible evil of slavery, as he styles it, and convince them that it is all he holds it to be. What then? This audience will feel nothing. They will say, we share not in their sins, and have no interest in common with them. But it is our connexion with them that gives force to the sentiment that the states should divide. We should not then pause in our course. Our condition justifies us. We should at once sever from the jurisdictional authority of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Dr. Smith, of Virginia, said he wished to lay a motion on the table, to be considered to-morrow morning, viz.

Resolved, That we cannot sanction the action had in the late General Conference, on the subject of slavery, by remaining in connection with that body, without great injury to the Southern Methodists; therefore if there appears to the committee on organization no hope of recession on the part of the North, that they report in favor of a separation from the jurisdiction of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Made order of the day for to-morrow.

FIFTH DAY.

TUESDAY MORNING, MAY 6th.

Services opened with the usual exercises by Mr. Harris.

A member of the Alabama delegation wished to correct a false rumor to the effect that his delegation are opposed to a separate organization. On the contrary they were instructed not to return without effecting a separate organization. Without it we cannot have access to the people. With one voice they demand a separation.

Dr. Capers corrected the report of yesterday's proceedings as found in the Louisville Courier. He remarked, I never said that the majority proclaimed themselves abolitionists. They have said just the reverse.

But we cannot discern the difference between their action and abolitionism.

Dr. Smith said, it is impossible to obtain a perfect report of our speeches, &c. Mr. Lee, Winans, Longstreet and others made remarks of similar import.

Dr. Smith, of Virginia, then called for the reading of the resolution reported in our last. He requested the convention to indulge him in a few remarks relative to himself. The *Christian Advocate and Journal* and the *Western Christian Advocate*, have greatly misrepresented me. Dr. Bond has represented me as a very intemperate man, and he has represented the Southern delegates as returning home to agitate and inflame the church. I was charged with the authorship of reputed inflammatory and ungodly resolutions passed in Norfolk. The gentlemen who passed those resolutions informed Dr. Bond that I was absent from Norfolk when they were framed and presented. Yet he refused to publish the correction. Dr. Bond and his echo in Cincinnati, Dr. Elliot, are hostile to me; for what purpose I know not unless it be to destroy my influence. I care but little for it—I am known at home—I hope you will judge by the facts and arguments I may present.

Dr. Smith called attention to the case of Harding as being in direct opposition to the civil policy of the land, that policy is to discourage the increase of free colored population. For proof of this he referred to the laws in relation to social and civil disabilities of the free people of color in Ohio, New York and other free states—and said that the slave states only carried out the same principle, as is found in the laws of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia. In this last named state the laws do not admit of manumission, and no clerk of any county is allowed to admit to record any deed of manumission, or will, by which negroes are liberated.

Our church rules are to be interpreted according to the 23d article of our religion—they must be interpreted consistently with the civil policy of the land. Why then did General Conference decree as they did in the case of Harding? The act of the General Conference was in violation of the rule of discipline which covered his case, as harmonizing with the civil policy of the country. Now we cannot submit to this without injury to the country which protects us. The decision of the late General Conference has the force of law, and necessarily so interprets the discipline as to require every minister and member who puts himself in the condition of Harding or Andrew to manumit his slaves.

If we submit, this interpretation of the law must be binding over

the whole church. Presiding elders must see that the preachers in charge appoint no one as class leader or steward or trustee who is a slave holder. Bishops must see that no one be ordained as deacon or elder who is so involved. Bishop James so decided in the Kentucky Conference, at his late visitation, declaring that if he did ordain a slave-holding candidate he would be liable to impeachment at the next General conference.

Mr. Gun, of the Kentucky Conference, explained that his conference, had always refused to elect such person, inasmuch as the laws of his state do admit of emancipation, now what would be the result of such a procedure in the South? It would speedily end Methodism there. Her hallowed fires would be extinguished on every hill top. As ministers we must turn out all slaveholders in the condition of Harding and Andrew, or violate our solemn ordination vows. Suppose we do not administer these laws thus expounded, we then are nullifiers — disorganizers, and are chargeable with the grossest infidelity.

We would be unfaithful to the country if we submit to this effort of the church to overthrow the civil policy of the land. If the general convention wishes to subordinate the laws of the country to her tribunal, why does she not assume and hold Cæsar's seat at once? The reason is the same that prevents the Pope from reigning here — she cannot — dare not do it. She was, however, declared, in effect, that she will make the South submit. This is her settled policy. They have made the church of Christ a secular concern, and as we would not see her come down from her lofty sphere to grapple with angry politicians. As we love our country we cannot submit to the arrogant pretensions of our rulers. As an ecclesiastical body they may not be charged with political treason, but they are guilty of moral treason, worse and more to be dreaded than that of Aaron Burr and Blennerhassett — for it involves ultimately the taking up of arms by a maddened and infuriated set of men.

Their course is thus treasonable in the extreme. The position of the General Conference, in aiming to give law and policy to the state, is that which urges us to declare trumpet tongued our opposition. Through this very door Papal Rome spread ruin over the world. She attempted to subjugate the civil policy to her code, and she succeeded to an alarming extent, as a suffering world well knows, and the General Conference are rapidly treading in her steps. Now sir, we will not bear this yoke — a yoke which will soon be as heavy as that imposed by British Puseyite Episcopalians. So deep is the feeling in the south that we would not be permitted to send delegates to the General Conference, for

if we continue to go there, and agitate this matter, this political union will not last twelve years. Most of the agitation of this subject in the land has its origin in Northern Methodism. Petitions to Congress have been but the spawn of the discussions on the General Conference floor.

The confusion will never cease till we separate. But it becomes us to inquire whether there is any prospect that the majority will recede.

Majorities are but popular tyrannies — worse in some respects than a monarchy; if the monarch will not suit his course to the views and interests of his people he can have his head taken off but not so with a majority; there are no means of redress but to throw off allegiance. We cannot contend with a plurality of votes, and this is the position of the South. Will the North then recede from the ground they occupy? No, there is no hope of that — They tell us too that they are sustained by their constituents, and if they should recede where would they recede to? If they were to revoke the action in the case of Harding and Andrews that would not restore to us the confidence of the South, which they have taken away. What then would be satisfactory to the South? Why plainly to come back to the ground they have long since left viz. Scriptural ground on this subject — say what you will of the right or wrong of slavery, this is the true ground — “Let servants obey their masters, &c. And ye masters be kind to your servants” &c. this must be the ground they must come to if they compromise. Will they do it? I think not.

The plan shouted over by Dr. Bond — recommended by Dr. Durbin and originated by Dr. Booth, possessing nothing of the nature of a compromise but the name. No mutual concession nor guarantees of future safety. We may not elect a slave holding Bishop. Now what is an abolitionist? Take a view of the undefinable and indescribable Dr. Elliott and then go to the Baltimore Conference — the break water Conference truly, filled with logs &c. in glorious confusion. Now go on East and then turn and bring up in Missouri, and you will have found the camelion has not more hues and changes than this self same abolitionism. We would have to receive the man the General Conference would give us, and he would never be a Southern man — our side of the obligation would be very definite and theirs as indefinite as the camelion's hue. This is Dr. Bond's diplomacy — the green withie by which he intends to bind the unruly South. This may do for children but not for men — it may do for grown up children not for Kentucky or the South. Politicians have regarded the churches of the land as the great bonds of political union to the states. And to none have they looked with as much confidence as to the Methodist Episcopal Church.

That day has passed by. When last we met on the floor of the General Conference, North, South, East and West, we met there as gladiators, sir, to send out the sound of battle that shall never cease till the civil policy bows to the majesty of the General Conference. Shall we submit to this? No, sir, you might as well ask me to lay down my virtue and integrity, and go home beggared in character, having lost all that is worth living for. We say as the cat did to the kite in the fable. When borne aloft the cat began to ply her claws upon the kite. The kite said, "I will let you go if you will let me go;" but the cat said "No, put me back where you took me from, and then I will let you go." So "put us back," we say to the North, and then let us alone, and we will let you alone. We have, however, the plan of separation of the late General Conference, and we have a right to withdraw without censure, as provided in 1828. Nor should we be called schismatics because we throw off the misrule of tyrants, and carry with us all that is essential to Methodism — Protestants separated from Rome.

The Methodist Episcopal Church from the Church of England. The Canadians from us, and we from the Methodist. But it is said we shall lose our property. Suppose we do, money is not an element in this affair. Dr. Bond and Dr. Elliott, and Bishop Hamline and a yankee lawyer from the East, who lives in Baltimore called D. C., have tried to throw difficulties on this point, and along the borders trouble may arise, yet we believe no Court in this land would be long misled. •

The plan of separation in the 9th article contains a release to us from the General Conference of all the right they have in property. The right of property is in the members of the M. E. Church, in the neighborhoods where located. The General Conference cannot release that, because it does not possess it, but all the right it has, as specified in deed page 167 of discipline, they have already relinquished in the plan of separation. Besides, in separation we do separate from the Methodist E. Church? 1st. The membership. 2d. The Episcopacy or general superintendency.

The M. E. Church has existed since 1784. The General Conference only dates back to A. D. 1812 — hence the Methodist E. Church existed 28 years before the General Conference had an existence, and it would still exist after 15 Conferences, or more, shall have withdrawn, not from the Church, but from her control — yea, the Methodist Episcopal Church would exist if the General Conference were annihilated; hence it follows, that the property is deeded to the M. E. Church, and not to the General Conference. The right of the property is in the membership, and will enure to us in the South, and all the right the General

nference had to the pulpits, &c. She has already relinquished to a Southern organization in article 9th of the plan of separation as made and authorized by the General Conference in May last, and such will be the result.

The above is a *synopsis* of the speech of Dr. Smith, it was considered the organ of the Convention — but little other business having been done beside to-day. Conference adjourned till Wednesday morning.

SIXTH DAY.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, May 7.

Religious service by Rev. Mr. Crowder, of Virginia.

Dr. Pierce of Georgia, took the floor, and having called for the reading of the resolution to which Dr. Smith spoke yesterday, he proceeded to remark, that it was always a great trial for him to speak in a deliberative assembly. That his difficulties were increased by the opinion that discussion on the topics of the resolution is premature, and that we should wait for the report of the committee on organization. He thought differently. He wished to discuss this subject with great solemnity and deliberation. These matters are sometimes defended with so much warmth and violence and with so many personalities, that many who might have been won are repulsed. Dr. Smith has fully and ably argued out the principles that govern us. I will content myself with stating facts before the people.

After our return from New York, months elapsed before our people would forgive us for staying an hour in General Conference after the virtual deposition of Bishop Andrew by that body. But the steps we took here, and the certainty of a speedy separation only, enabled us to live. And we will not be countenanced in our return home if there is any abatement in this process. I say this, not for effect, but as a fact. But may we not hope for a compromise from the North? Will they not recede? I assure you, I have not the least expectation of any recession or compromise and security that would be satisfactory. The fact is that when this question is stripped of all its trappings it is evident that Northern brethren make this a matter of conscience; therefore there can and will be no compromise.

The popular doctrine is that a majority of votes must settle affairs and thus make their decision law: and as the North have, and always will have, the balance of power in their hands — will matters grow any better? No, sir, never. They are in the majority — their consciences tell them they must purge the church of slavery, and posterity will demand of them why they did not do it. Thus they feel and therefore

this they act. Why then should this convention or the South falter in this matter? Every man that has a Southern location and a Southern heart in him will see that it is not safe for him to remain with them. The cause being sufficient, the sooner the South goes the better. The desolating tempest which has ravaged our country, and howls over the South, will the sooner lull away into the bosom of brotherly affection.

I am the oldest efficient man on this floor. I intimately understand the vexed question of slavery and abolition, and I say fearlessly that the agitation of this subject has done us more harm than hell with all its legions. We told them it would manacle our hands, and form a chasm between us and the population. We always told them this. Not a single exception to this remark. And the Southern delegates certainly best understood their own localities. Did they believe that the delegates would lie? Yet they hurled ruin among us by their acts. Besides, the South were placed under proscription as regards the offices in the gift of the General Conference. We felt it, and drew up a protest which would have been presented as far back as 1832, but for the request of a valued friend. And the first opportunity they had they showed their inveterate spirit in deposing Bishop Andrew. An act above law and without law, or the forms of trial. We are unwilling to be the victims of secret laws. We cannot submit to the erection of a caste in the eldership of the church; our ministry would not be respected a moment afterward.

We are willing to suffer for righteousness' sake, but not because we live North or South. We farther charge a want of fairness in the official papers with regard to us. We can prove this by documentary evidence from the immediate vicinity of these presses. They represent that we are making this disturbance for the support of our beloved Bishop Andrew, and thus they make the impression that our devotion is to a man and not to principles — and then they infer that it would be a less evil for Andrew to resign than to divide the Church on account of one man. This is a false issue. I will now say advisedly that if at the late General Conference, or now, his resignation would settle the difficulty, he would resign. Yea, he offered to do it. But that sacrifice would not lay the fearful spirit that has arisen as a terror to the South. The true ground is that Andrew's case was covered by the law of the church, and that they tried to remove him from office notwithstanding.

As a "dernier resort" we have been told that the plan of separation of the late General Conference is null and void because the constitution of the church does not contain any such provision. Therefore the

Conference has no right to make that plan and therefore it is unconstitutional and not binding. This is a specious argument and apparently conclusive. But we would ask, since the Church of God in its various branches was formed, did any branch ever make provision for its own division? No sir; and if we wait till constitutional and statutory laws are made for our separation, we shall find ourselves bound by an adamant chain. In the nature of the case, no law can arise *but the law of necessity* — and civil, political and ecclesiastical laws must yield before that law. Just now methinks I hear a whisper passing round, the import of which is, "Convince me of that necessity and I will go with you in this matter." I will prove it to you then. In a confederation of conferences, the delegates of the South, who know best what is necessary, rise in their places and declare that fact. Does not that prove it? Real abolitionists would swear it on a coffin that such legislation as would save and suit the South would ruin the North.

We told them that their action would dig such a chasm between us and the Southern population as could not be spanned with a bridge, on which it would be safe for us to venture. And such legislation as would suit the North would be ruin to us. Now can you wish any better reason for separation than the impossibility of united legislation, without ruin to the North or South? I deeply sympathize with those in the slave states who live along the border. I hope that preachers, members and citizens may be harmonized and go with us. Many of them do not think that the time has come to divide. They say, let the majority have time to think and review, and with accumulated light rejudge this matter in 1848. Others say, we can live in our present position as well as in the "Church." But we ask, are you disposed to sustain the action had in the case of Harding and Andrew? Is it safe for you to remain under their jurisdiction? Can you promise yourself prospective peace? Can you live and preach and pray and sing and love and die together with your brethren, part in one organization and part in another? No, there is no way for peace but to go with us.

If you open your ear or heart to them you will give them a place in our territory to bombard us from. Now we do not want cross firing. Will you then do so? You may not indeed endorse every item of our views — but if the main essential principles we embody are by you endorsed, then come under our flag. Two or three complainers can do much harm. You should come out and say that the majority did wholly right or wholly wrong. Let others do as they will, I go with the South. You may put me down for one. Some people love, next to their wives, our common Methodism; therefore they are unwilling to separate from

her. Now Methodism does not consist in numbers or location.

We find it in Canada, in England and America. I go for the Methodist Episcopal Church. I will not give up one of her articles of religion, if you argue with me till January. And I now advertise you that if you wish to find pure Methodism you will find it in the honest South. We are not carried about with divers and strange doctrines, I assure you. Her intinerant features, too, will be there, with better guards than have of late been thrown around them. Do you believe God will be more glorified, more souls saved, if we live together in this fire than if we lived on both sides of it? No! Let us then divide for the salvation of souls and the glory of God. And I believe, too, that it will most effectually secure the political union of these United States, thus to set a boundary to the hue and cry of abolitionism.

No church can prosper while in contention on a vital principle. It is a dreadful thought that a preacher, whose crown is beset with souls, but who has inherited a few slaves, or received them with his wife, should therefore be excluded from his privileges in the Church. I verily believe that if we now promptly separate, four years will close the controversy, and if we travel North we shall freely be admitted into their pulpits. We shall not be belligerent parties. My remarks are for the public. I am a pacific but decided man. I desire to use soft words and hard arguments, and will close by asking Kentucky if she believes our principles to go with us in the practice.

Dr. Capers presented facts relative to the early introduction of Methodism into North Carolina, and its speedy destruction by the abolition sentiments of Bishop Coke, and to show that they now only had access to the slaves by the sufferance of their masters. If the Southern preachers stay, in connexion with General Conference, they will be excluded from their fields of labor. Necessity is our law, and it compels us to separate: Dr. Elliott says we made the necessity. No—it was made before we were born, and we cannot control it. It has been supposed that Mr. Calhoun has, through me, instigated the separation for political purposes. I hear this in several places. Well, if there is a necessity to divide, he or I did not create that necessity—and this colusion has only been imagined. Dr. Bond does not charge that it is so—but it is merely imagined to be so. This is the first meeting I have attended and have had no part in making the necessity—that is spontaneous—stern and unmanageable. I feel very solemn now and in my place here I believe that there is no act which I could do—not an act that would send me soul and body to hell—that would be so injurious to my Redeemer and his cause—so injurious to my fellow men—as to

vote for our continuance under the jurisdiction of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. I had better commit murder, stain my hands with the blood of my own brother, than hang on the General Conference. In the former case you would call me a wretch and brand me with infamy. But then the Church would not suffer. If you send me back to North Carolina, to say to them and the South that there is no occasion or necessity to separate, you make me a miserable minister of misery to them.

SEVENTH DAY.

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 9th.

B. T. Crouch opened with religious services.

Mr. Early moved that a committee on finance be appointed, to receive our interest in the proceeds of the Book Concern and charter fund, and mature a financial system for the Southern organization. He said that the committee on organization will report a new plan in a few days. That we cannot get our portion of the capital until some Northern Annual Conference takes action in our behalf and three-fourths of the Conferences and two-thirds of the General Conference grant it. Hence we must wait at least three years.

Dr. Drake moved for the appointment of a committee to confer with the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in reference to their property in the India missions.

Dr. Longstreet opposed it as premature. We are not organized yet, and it would be incongruous to appoint a committee four days before we organize. Withdrawn.

Mr. Early wished a committee on our relation to the American Bible Society; he proposed this in order to save time, as the committee on organization will in a few days report a plan for the organization of the Southern M. E. Church; and if we never organize it will do no harm to appoint the committee.

Mr. Green said we must adopt the discipline and then these matters will be therein provided for, unless we find that we have legislative powers — which I conceive we have not. Nor can we complete our organization until a General Conference of the South is convened. Mr. Early said he merely wished to recommend friendly relations between the society and the new organization. You have a right now to organize without a General Conference. This I have not doubted for months.

Dr. Capers opposed it as premature and it was withdrawn.

Dr. Campbell of Mississippi, then called up the resolution to which Drs. Smith and Pierce had spoken and said — We are not following what are styled leaders in the South ; nor are our leaders dictated to by the slaveholding nabobs of that region. No, Sir—we went before them—we acted as we did before we heard from the nabobs. If our delegates had returned from New York without having taken the steps they did, we should have been shut out of the fields we occupied. If we now submit we are ruined. He said it was necessary to fix the geographical lines, to keep each party separate, or confusion would be the result. There are in my district one hundred thousand slaves and only one missionary for them all ; but many doors are opening, and more calls for preachers than we can supply ; but those calls will cease and those doors will be closed if we do not act promptly here and separate at once.

I cannot look homeward if such action is not had here. Many are hesitating — but why ? I once hoped for a compromise and looked every way for light, but beheld darkness. The heavens were blackened and Northern thunder bellowed back despair to all my hopes. We must act now, and sever the last attenuated thread that unites us.

Dr. Pierce, of Georgia, (the younger,) said, I had supposed that all doubts as to the necessity of our immediate organization had been banished from all minds ; that no dissenting voice would distract the unanimity of this body relative to a present or prospective separation. If a case in the eldership of the church is certain — if the action in the case of Harding and Andrew be not reversed — then I suppose all will say, sever at once and forever. Now the true question is, is there any likelihood that the majority will do this ? I think not — they did not act rashly.

We all know that committees were appointed, besides much informal conversation and consultation as to the “modus operandi” of reaching Bishop Andrew, so as to wed abolitionism and conservatism — a union not founded in love. They did not fall in love at first sight, though the courtship was quick and they acted out the doctrine of immediate annexation. When the grand rally came they showed that they had not reckoned without their host. The matter was stoutly debated three weeks, and when the day of trial came, there was no faltering on the part of the majority. They met our protest promptly, and appointed a most able committee to reply to it. Those then who expect them to retrace their steps are miserably deceived — pride of opinion and intellect is involved in their position, and the piety of their hearts prompted their course.

If they are men they will not retract; as Christian men they cannot, because they deem their consciences involved.

"Dr. Winans told you truly that their opposition to "this sum of all villainies," as they significantly call slavery, is part and parcel of their piety and it is essential to them, as they desire "clean hands and a pure heart," to use all due remedies against it. But their zeal against slavery is intimately connected with the long cherished opposition to Episcopacy — with malice aforethought, I was about to say, they have linked these two subjects together, and they labor assiduously to reduce a Bishop to a level with an editor or agent. They have laid violent hands on this consecrated office in the Church of God. It is downright radicalism. I told them that their course would terminate Episcopacy in ten years. They are innovators. The history of the Church shows that but few features of Methodism remain in the North — pewed churches organs, fiddles, standing up to pray, dispensing with bread and water in love feasts, and speeches in love feasts more like 4th of July toasts than any thing else, show how they have departed from Methodism; you may call these little things but they show the spirit. I have documentary evidence from an abolitionist of the purest water to show that we are right in this matter of supposing that they will not retract; that they cannot perceive slaveholding to be wrong in a Bishop and right in a presiding elder, or member. That they do believe that it is always and every-where sinful.

"The mass agree with the majority or they do not. If they do not then we can have no confidence in the majority, for they represented that the mass do agree with them. If they do agree with the majority then that majority will not recede. They regard slavery as the compendium of all calamities, the residuum of all abominations, the desperate concoction of the brains of Satan. Yet with all their squeamishness of conscience they do not refer this question to the Bible, the great test in morals. They quote Washington, Madison, Jefferson, &c. but not the Holy Bible. A Southern preacher, passing on a steamboat up the beautiful Connecticut river, went on deck to ruminate while the lovely moonlight illumined the enchanting scenery, and soon heard a trio in deep conversation on abolitionism. At last they asked him what he thought of the matter. He told them that his opinion would not be canonical, as he was a bona fide slaveholder himself, and as he had not heard them quote the Bible as authority in their conversation, he supposed that they were disciples of Fanny Wright. "Oh no," one said, "I am a preacher myself," and referred to the others for proof. But the gentleman told him, "you can't come it over me that way, no how you can fix it;

I don't believe a word of your being a preacher, for you never quote the Bible."

When I was in New York, one day, a number of abolitionist preachers surrounded me, thinking I was green and they could make game of me. One of them said, "What do you preach down there?" I said, "the Gospel." "What do you preach the whole Gospel?" I asked him what he meant, and he repeated the query. I asked him what he meant by the insulting question. "Why," says he, "do you preach that part of the Bible which says, 'cursed be he that parteth man and wife?'" "No, sir," said I, "for the best of all reasons, too; it is not in the Bible." It has been said we wish to establish a pro-slavery Church. Now I cannot master enough charity to believe that those who make this charge believe it themselves. Our day is one of great improvement we make the sun take our profiles; Morse has made the lightning our post-boy, and A. C. has made the stars of heaven to publish nightly that we are forming a pro-slavery Church.

This is not so. We cannot control civil institutions in the South, and it is not our business to denounce or defend slavery. In Georgia we regard it as a political evil and great curse. Our business is not to rivet chains on the body, but to tear them from the soul. With the sword of the Spirit to attack the arch fiend and deliver enthralled souls, and bring them out of the kingdom of darkness, redeemed and sanctified to God. Dr. Coke's ill-judged course sent two generations to the grave without the Gospel, on Eddyston Island and vicinity. We have great difficulty now in establishing our few missions, which, like green spots, dot the wilderness around. And shall we deprive the Negroes of the Gospel by refusing to throw off allegiance to the General Conference? In several instances we have had to labor hard to convince slaveholders that we are not officially bound to seek the extinction of slavery, as our discipline asserts, before we could get their permission to occupy their territory as missionary ground.

Our prospective separation has opened more doors in Alabama than we can enter; more fields than we can occupy. Now if the prospect of separation has done so much, how much more will its consummation effect. And what wide spread ruin will be accomplished if we falter in our course as to separation. How can we, who are sent especially to the poor, delay a moment in declaring our independence and unfettering ourselves that we may serve Christ's suffering poor? Our mission is to the blacks, and I long to see Methodism rise in her untrammelled might — in the plenitude of her sympathy — and bear the boon of heaven's mercy to the down-trodden slave. Ours be the privilege to kneel at the

bed side of the diseased and dying, to point their otherwise heathen eye to the light which beams from the face of the Saviour of sinners.

I beseech you stay not the hands of those who are entering upon these fields, already white to the harvest; those reapers who are gathering sheaves for the garner above. I heard a man say that he would "free his slaves if they went to the devil." But I believe that slavery with the gospel is better, infinitely better, than freedom without it; for the soul is more than the body, and eternity more valuable than time. We cannot then compromise this matter. If the news should go from this convention that there is trepidation here, it would be desolating to the South. And should we fail to organize, it would be as destructive to Methodism as the earthquake or volcano. Our Churches would be abandoned. Our doom written. The case settled. I wish the news to fly that we have separated, to gladden the hearts of masters and slaves. My individual opinion is that we need not and should not desire a prospective re-union with the North. Still I am willing to leave the door open, as it is familiarly styled here. Yes, keep it open to them as we do the door into the Church, and receive them when they are convinced of their sins — confess them "and desire to be saved from them." Even then we must take them on trial, or by a satisfactory certificate showing that they are cured of their present monomania, and are willing to leave civil matters as they do civil governments, without direct interference. The Northern legislation and policy are ruin to us, and we separate or perpetrate an outrage on the Church and the South, in a crusade that is unwarranted by the Bible or by Christ or his Apostles. As for me I go for separation without delay. The statements in the Western Christian Advocate, about meetings in the South and here to sustain the M. E. Church, are insulting and untrue, and show that security to our character requires a new organization.

EIGHTH DAY.

FRIDAY MORNING, May 9.

Bishop Andrew offered some remarks relative to his present position. He said he had acquired a painful notoriety within the last ten months. That he had given no pledge that he would not become a slaveholder when he was elected Bishop. Repeated substantially his address at the late General Conference. Said he did not believe that his resignation then or now would secure tranquility to the Church.

He affirmed his ardent love to, and spoke of his labors for, the slaves, and their love to him; and declared his willingness to free his slaves whenever he shall be convinced that he could better their condition by

so doing. Did not anticipate that the General Conference would make so much ado about it as they have done. Animadverted on those who published to the world private conversations held in unsuspecting friendship and freedom. He said he had bought a farm and put them on it, to earn their own bread and clothing, and find him in his as a remuneration for his expenditures on them. This is but an outline of his address.

Judge Longstreet went over much of this ground already reported. Gave a historical sketch of the action had in the cases of Harding and Andrews, with an irregular running comment; said that the majority had changed the term 'owner' of slaves for the phrase 'connexion with slavery.' After a long run he perceived and acknowledged that "he had abandoned all system in his remarks." He called the General Conference an inquisitorial despotism—said that all the offices in their hands would be distributed according to the feelings of the North; and the South must be under a proscriptive oppression. That they must always be impotent in the General Conference because hopelessly in the minority, and no way remained for them to secure their rights but by a stern resistance to the very first encroachments. He contended that there could be no compromise, and urged them to act promptly in sending forth their "declaration of independence;" and wound up by urging those on the borders not to seek a home in the bosom of 'the pure' North; that was no place for them. That they would be victimized if they did, etc., etc.

Mr. McFerrin presented a written declaration that no private effort was making in Louisville to oppose the organization of the Southern Church, signed by the pastors and local preachers, and corroborated by the delegations. We charitably think that he misunderstood the paragraph in the editorial of the Western Christian Advocate of this week, which we considered his remarks.

NINTH DAY.

SATURDAY MORNING, May 10th.

Judge Longstreet resumed the topics of yesterday; said that the action of the General Conference implied that preachers must consult the General Conference before they marry—a right to investigate their private affairs—required the husband to take advantage of his wife's affections—alienate her property by setting her slaves free; or required her removal to a free state, where the laws would do it for her. Deprived preachers of the privileges of citizens, and when married, if thereby connected with slavery, compelled them to spread their reasons before

the public. Now this will bring Methodism into contempt in the South—will cause parents, brothers and friends to rise up against such squandering of property—will fill our civil courts with lawsuits—prevent preachers from marrying where they know or are known; will drive preachers from the South, and ruin the Church there.

They tell us indeed that it is the settled policy of the Church not to have slaveholding Bishops—therefore it is not lawful. If so, then General Conference has not as yet been convened in slaveholding territory, ergo it is not lawful for it to sit there; because General Conference has some legislative jurisdiction and executive power, therefore it is omnipotent—can leave a Bishop nothing to do, and yet leave him a Bishop; and so may a lamp post. As a pastor may remove a class-leader, so General Conference may remove a Bishop, summarily, albeit they do not show the place in the discipline where the General Conference has the pastoral oversight of the Bishops. That as they make him they can unmake him—i. e. carpenters have built Louisville, therefore they have a right to burn it down. All these things and more are implied in their action. Does General Conference make a Bishop? No. When did Mr. Hamline take his seat on the bench of Bishops, when he was elected or nominated by the General Conference? No, sir. Not till he was consecrated by it to the ordination service of the Church; as when the President presents a person as Minister to a foreign state, the Senate confirms the appointment. Power of election and nomination in the General Conference does not imply power to remove.

The General Conference passed a resolution in 1840, that slaveholding is no barrier to any benefit or privilege in the church; and yet virtually deposed Bishop Andrew because he became connected with slavery. The origin of the power of General Conference was then sought after. He referred to Mr. Westley's called Conference of his preachers, not to vote, but to advise with them, and to his power to send them where he deemed best. He sent Dr. Coke into this country, and gave him power to ordain Mr. Asbury, Bishop, who wished the Conference to elect him, merely to know how he stood in their affections. They did not claim the power nor did he concede it.

Now here began these monstrous powers of the General Conference, and their present aspect is entirely unlike primitive Methodism. But we complain most of the manner in which we have been treated. We have been unable to obtain a decision whether this act in regard to Bishop Andrew was mandatory or advisory. We tried various ways to have the matter settled; but they objected to define their proposed action; first, for fear of losing votes on the one hand or the other; and

secondly, to construct a trap, in which to catch Bishop Andrew. If he ceases to travel, punish him at next General Conference.

If he does take work, arraign him for contumacy in violating the "sense" or rather nonsense of the majority of the General Conference. Dr. Bond arraigns Bishop Soule for inviting Bishop Andrew to work and Dr. Elliott says that Bishop Soule by presiding in this convention has "cut the last attenuated thread" that bound him to the Methodist Episcopal Church. Now will you dissolve this convention, go home and throw no shield around these Bishops who have so nobly come to our rescue, and leave them to the majority of the next General Conference, who will arraign and censure them, if they do no more? There was also a want of candor in the majority, of which we do complain, and which I hope never to see again.

While we argued, expostulated, wept and prayed, they were dark, mysterious and cool as the centre seed of a cucumber. We wish and ask them to deal frankly with us; but they will not. Do you wish us to go back under such jurisdiction? We wish to do justice, however, and say that the Yankees are candid. They tell us they intend to free the Church of slavery, believing it to be sinful. Yes, there is candor among the Yankees. But Dr. Bond keeps back the truth. I honor them much, though they sadly mistake and are ruining the Church and state. I here proclaim that their act in respect to Bishop Andrew was mandatory; on the supposition that the powers they claim for the General Conference do actually belong to it, which claim I reject. and therefore they achieved his disposition, if their claims were valid. No matter what language they use, if they are supreme in power their "sense" is law, and they will make it so appear, if we let them bring these Bishops before them.

Is there any hope of compromise? No, sir. If we propose it, as some think we should, we should appear in a ridiculous light. The world will laugh at us. We came here, sir, not to compromise, but to organize. We tried to compromise in New-York. Our Bishops tried it, all tremblingly desirous to have it done, or have action delayed; they gave it up, and we all gave it up as lost. It is not desirable that we should. We have gone to far to retract. If you do you will never get a shilling of your property; the sympathies that existed between us are destroyed, friendly feelings have fled, and bitterness abound. Our former friends have failed us; and with these facts in view will you get your Bishops into this predicament, and leave them under such circumstances, when they depend upon you to rally around them — will you now stand and beg for peace and compromises? No, no.

We shall not endanger the political union of the United States by sep-

aration. Wesleyans in England and Methodists in Canada fraternize us and do not interfere with us, and why? You do not bring slaveholders within their jurisdiction. In General Conference we are harrassed with petitions on slavery. Sixty-two were presented the first day of last Conference — some for modern Episcopacy, &c. How long must we be thus tortured — called men-stealers, and be classed with drunkards, &c.? Do you wish to send us back to be lacerated again and again? We stood it till we saw the head of the Church about to be struck off, and could stay no longer. Our Bishops have quadrennially allayed rising strife, poured oil on the waters, and begged us to wait, and wait, and wait, and wait. We did till patience was entirely exhausted.

In the meantime the Church had nourished a viper in its bosom, which at last rose in its might and stung its head, and sent its venom through every part. Now I want to get back to old fashioned Methodism, which sent its messengers of peace and love to minister its blessings, not only on the Sabbath but every day, bring peace with them to every house, nor leaving it without a prayer for the blessing of God upon it. I am no sectarian, but I love Methodism — I boast of a Nolley who perished in the wilderness while in pursuit of the lost sheep purchased by the Saviour's blood. Died upon his knees — frozen to death in the wilds of the West. The moaning forest winds chanted his funeral dirge. The unsullied snow was his winding sheet, and the sturdy forest oak his monument. Here I would invite all of every name to come and view what I deem an embodiment of the character of a minister of Christ; and every heart will feel, and every tongue reply Amen. Give us this pure primitive Methodism, and we will be content.

This is the substance of the gentleman's speech, which will probably be presented more in detail in the Louisville papers.

Mr. Dunwoody said he thought the South was so unanimous that there would be no need to speak on this subject. Although much has been said still the subject is not exhausted. And the merits of it have hardly been touched. Different opinions exist relative to the moral character of slavery itself. The majority say that it is a moral evil in every case and under all circumstances. We say not. The main body have always considered it as a moral evil, hence the general rule and 10th section of our discipline on the subject. I believe it is a moral evil in some circumstances but not in others. Let our appeal be to the Bible.

1st. then, I believe slavery was a moral evil in the case of the Hebrews who were enslaved by the Egyptians, and God sorely punished the Egyptians for their sinfulness. 2d. The African slave trade was founded in covetousness, oppression and wrong, and is therefore sinful. 3d. The

slave trade between these states for gain and merchandise is sinful. Yet I believe that slavery is not always sinful. By the Bible, in the 4th commandment, it is recognized by God's own authority — also in the 10th commandment we are forbidden to covet our neighbor's servant as much as to covet his wife.

Now this holy decalogue, or moral law, is not to be abrogated, but is to stand forever, and it recognizes the principle of slavery. The Old Testament shows us that Hebrews might be made slaves for six years, at farthest, till the great jubilee; if held after that it was morally wrong. But of the heathen they might buy servants to be their possession forever — to go as an inheritance to their children, no provision being made for their liberation. Thus we see that the principle of slavery was established and sanctioned by God when the Jews lived under a government called a theocracy, because its laws were specially enacted by him.

Now here is a syllogism for an abolitionist. If slavery is a moral evil God cannot sanction it. But God has sanctioned it — therefore it is not a moral evil. Again God could never authorise the practice of a moral evil. But God authorised slavery, therefore slavery is not a moral evil. God requires us to be subject to the powers that be — the civil power — and he that resists shall receive to himself damnation. Now our civil powers recognise slavery. And our discipline requires us to be subject to the civil powers. But the General Conference requires us to do what we cannot do. Now we have been wrong all along; our duty is to let state affairs alone — and slavery is an affair of state. But is slavery a moral evil as to the church? No; Paul says, in his letter to Timothy, "let as many servants" &c., doing them service because their believing masters are faithful and beloved and partakers of the benefit.

All our commentators translate the word slaves, and yet inconsistently oppose and revile slavery. Abraham was a slaveholder and he has gone to heaven, for Christ says so — "I shall sit down with Abraham," &c. The centurion was a slaveholder and Christ says he had not found so great faith, no not in Israel. So far from its being morally wrong, we find that although it existed in the days of the Apostles, they never found any fault with it. They pointed out the duties of husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and slaves. They were to obey their masters from their heart, and masters were to forbear threatening. Peter says they must obey not only the good and gentle masters but also the froward — hence masters may be good and gentle.

Now if it is morally wrong to hold slaves, it is morally wrong to live in wedlock, for the duties of each state are prescribed by God. Now God

does not describe the duties of adulterers and robbers, because their practices are morally wrong, but God does prescribe the duties of wedlock and masters and slaves. Paul says, "If thou art called, being a slave, care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free choose it rather;" i. e. it is not a matter of much importance. Philemon was a slaveholder when Paul sent Onesimus back to his master; he says in his letter, "Now being converted he will be a profitable servant." But not one word about emancipation. Thus the scriptures authorize the practice of slavery with regard to the Church. It is a state affair and the Church has nothing to do with it.

The Apostles appointed the duties of slaves to their believing masters and the presumption is that they were all in Church fellowship. Fletcher says we must not oppose the natural current of affairs or we shall only dam it up for a time, and the overflowing flood will ultimately bear all before it and spread desolation around. We have acted thus in regard to slavery and now we see the results. We have abandoned the word of the Lord, and hence this evil is come upon us. Abolitionists dread the Bible.

It is as the terrors of death to them. In 1820 we had a discussion of slavery in General Conference. I saw that if we admitted it to be a moral evil we had not an inch of ground to stand upon, and hence I threw difficulties in its way from the Bible and stopped it. History does not record a single instance of persecution of the Apostles or others for preaching against slavery. In 1836 abolitionists were so feeble in General Conference that Rozell and I and others agreed to let them alone measurably, but alas in 1844 the conservatives went over and joined the abolitionists, and the only way they have to prove it morally wrong is by abstract reasoning. I have proved that it is not morally wrong by the Holy Bible. Our general rule is very weak, for how could I enslave (i. e. deprive of liberty) a slave? If I were a private member I could buy slaves in the Methodist Episcopal Church with impunity. It is also very unequal in its operations respecting persons.

The tenth section is also oppressive. If it is sinful in ministers it is also in membership. Besides, if a man becomes a minister he thereby loses his rights as a citizen, which ought not so to be. Paul pleaded for his rights as a citizen. I don't believe any man is bound to emancipate even when civil laws admit of it, because the Bible does not require it. Many years ago I became the owner of two female slaves—one died—the other became the mother of twelve children, and raised three grand children. Now must I set them free and thus separate husbands and wives? No; here I take Bible ground again.

Abolitionists are consistent but their premise is false. Slavery is not a moral evil. We appeal to the Bible. God has sanctioned it. Let us now glance at conservatives. There is no difference between them and abolitionists at all, only they don't want to lose all the South. They wish to get slavery out of the ministry, and cause that ministry to bear against slavery in the membership, and thus extirpate it. This showed in last General Conference that abolitionism is their child. When Solomon called for the sword to divide the living child, the real mother cried out, "spare it," and so Solomon knew which was which. So when abolitionism was to be killed by the Harding and Andrew cases being sustained, the conservatives cried out "spare it," and thus we know who its father is.

Their cases were covered by the rule of discipline, but the rule of expediency was brought in. Episcopacy too is to be undermined. Bishop Hamline says a Bishop is no more than an editor, although he is required to avow that he is called of God and by the will of our Saviour to this office. Yet he must resign when popular clamor says so, and so the conservatives and abolitionists joined hands and elected Hamline Bishop, and all their action has only made slavery harder than before and the South has risen up as one man and said "dissolve the Union." I love our unity but it cannot be preserved.

The bone of contention is among us and the prospect is gloomy on every side; the people in the North have risen up against slavery, and the people in the South have risen up and say "divide." If it was only in the ministry we could manage it. I fear for the Baltimore Conference — for Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky and Missouri Conferences. The contention is commenced and when will it end? The conservatives and abolitionists will divide and the prospect all round is indeed gloomy. Alas for our beloved Zion. Scylla is on one hand, Charybdis on the other, and the waters of strife roll between; the Bible alone will guide us safely through. Holy Spirit, open our eyes to see the safe way and may the time soon come when the watchmen shall see eye to eye.

Dr. Capers said he wished it distinctly understood that their complaint is against the late General Conference and not against the discipline.

TENTH DAY.

MONDAY MORNING, MAY 12th.

The convention met pursuant to adjournment.

Dr. L. Pierce opened with the usual religious services.

Mr. Brock of the Memphis Conference, presented the following me-

memorial from the mayor of Memphis, Tennessee, which was read and laid on the table for the present, viz :

At a meeting of the Mayor and Board of Aldermen of the town of Memphis, held at the City Hall, May 5, 1845, the following resolutions were adopted. Be it

Resolved, By the Mayor and Aldermen of the town of Memphis, that they look with great interest to the establishment of the Methodist book concern in the South, and they esteem it a privilege and a duty to contribute to the extent of their ability to secure its location in this city.

Resolved, That this board, believing the City Hotel in this city (which cost about thirty thousand dollars) to be a suitable building for said book establishment, and believing that said property will be purchased by individual subscriptions and such appropriations as the corporation will make for the purpose, and donate to the Methodist Church, if said book concern is located here. Be it therefore

Resolved, That the Corporation of Memphis will make a liberal donation for the purchase of said City Hotel property, or any other site which may be preferred or thought to be more eligible, provided said book concern be located at this place.

J. J. FINLEY, Mayor.

O. D. WATSON, Recorder.

On motion of Mr. T. C. Benning, of Florida Conference, and E. Stevenson of Kentucky, a committee on book concerns was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Harris the memorial from the mayor of Memphis, together with the accompanying resolutions, were referred to the committee on the book concern.

Mr. McFerrin presented a memorial from the quarterly conference of the Book street charge, Louisville district, asking the location of the book concern to be in this city, which was read and referred to the same committee.

The resolution offered by Drs. Smith and Pierce was then called up, and Dr. Paine, of Tennessee, addressed the audience.

Dr. Paine remarked in rising, that he wished to present to the consideration of the convention a few remarks connected with the great emergency which called them together. He held a relation to this subject which enabled him to know much of the causes which led to the present posture of affairs, having been chairman of the committee in the late General Conference which prepared the report on the subject of separation. He entered into a brief history of the origin and progress of the difficulties of the church on the subject of slavery, stating what the true position of the South is at present. He maintained that separation was the best and only means of meeting an emergency, which, however the causes leading to it may be deplored, had nevertheless to be met in right

temper. A necessity was undeniably found to exist on both sides, both North and South. He reviewed graphically the efforts made at the General Conference of 1844, by both parties, to compromise the difficulty. The result was a failure, which left the practicability of compromise in hopeless despair.

He proceeded to vindicate the character of this movement from the imputations of schism and secession. He declared that separation which the South contemplates could not be regarded as a schism or secession; either in a theological or popular sense. He quoted from I. Cor. 1, 10, to show that schism was a movement in a church, disturbing its peace and destroying its harmony; whereas our separation contemplates no such object, but, on the contrary, is meant to put an end to disturbances already existing in the communion, by the establishment of a new jurisdiction, which was meant to change only the federal relations of the annual conferences, North and South. But are we *secessionists*? Secession, according to its radical import, is an act by which an individual withdraws himself from the communion and fellowship of a church, without the assent or concurrence of the church, taking upon himself the whole responsibility of the act. But is that our position?

We do not take ourselves from the fellowship of the great Wesleyan family, but by the actual consent and formal concurrence of the general conference with a surprising unanimity of action on the part of the majority. In that action we find our *magna charta*. And besides not only a vast majority of the general conference, but a decided majority of the preachers of the annual conferences, so far as they had been called on to act, had given their assent and sanction.

He adverted to documentary evidence. Did the South desire to secede? Did they proclaim any such intention even when driven to the last extremity? Did their *protest* contemplate secession? He quoted many passages from that instrument to sustain this position. Did the resolution instructing the committee of nine "to devise a *constitutional plan for a mutual and friendly division of the Church*," offered by a Southern man and seconded by a Northern, contemplate anything like secession? Was the new organization regarded in any such light by the report which that committee brought in? He read copious extracts from speeches made by the most prominent Northern men, when the report was before the conference for adoption. Drs. Luckey, Bangs, Hamline, Filmore, all of them spoke in most decided terms on that occasion; all of them approved the report on the ground that it provided for an amicable adjustment of difficulties in the only practicable way.

And now the North — no not the North, but the *senior editor*, brands

us as seceders! Could the South have been induced to support the "plan of division," if they had understood that when the time came to carry out in good faith the provisions of the "plan" they were to be stigmatized as secessionists? This would have been a case of *Punica fides* with a vengeance. The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States had separated from the jurisdiction of the Wesleyan conference, where was the secession in that case? Northern speakers themselves had put the present movement on precisely the same ground. The report referred to was not indeed just what the South wanted; but the best the South could get. Dr. Hamline wrote the report, every word of it, and he hoped he would stand up to the last in its defence. He was confident that he (Bishop Hamline) at least, would not wield his influence against what the committee meant to do — would never join in the silly clamor about secession. Dr. Bond had indeed opposed the plan at the time.

His difficulty was not placed on *constitutional* ground, but he considered the thing inexpedient because it would produce difficulties along the border. This prediction he was himself carrying out with a vengeance. He had foretold difficulties and strife, and had himself done more than any one else to produce strife. Along the whole border, where the Southern papers had no circulation, he, the said senior editor, had scattered "fire brands, arrows, and death." Nay, he had dared to pronounce the solemn act of the general conference a *nullity*, while he was eating the bread of the general conference, and pretending to act as its agent and officer! — a subordinate, bound to carry out the honorable pledge and intentions of that body, and at the same time waging war against their expressed wishes and designs! Bond ought to be impeached.

He had arraigned Bishop Soule for inviting Bishop Andrew to assist him in visiting the Southern Conferences, where the latter was most acceptable; while he (Bond) with high-minded arrogance undertook to nullify the whole plan of the general conference. He (Dr. Paine) would tell Bond, and the brethren of the North, that if they could not have a peaceable separation, they would have separation any how, and separation, too, on the very plan of the committee of nine, whether that plan was called a nullity, or we were branded as seceders or not. The editor's policy evidently was — divide and conquer. The security against his machinations is to be found in the good common sense and piety of the people. Thus it is seen that neither the protest nor the declaration, nor the resolution of instruction, nor the report of the committee of nine contemplated a secession.

He enlarged upon the absurdity of the provisions made in the report if we were to be considered seceders. Was the like ever seen in the world before, that the legislature of a church set itself gravely and earnestly to make special arrangements and advantageous provisions, both ecclesiastical and pecuniary, for a set of seceders? And although the constitutional vote by which the property might be divided, had not been given by the annual conferences, that yet he ventured to predict, with confidence, that we should yet obtain every dollar of our property. There was justice and magnanimity enough in the North to secure to us our pecuniary rights. When the existing excitement had passed away, and the still small voice of conscience should be heard, he, for one believed that the North would let us have our equitable claims upon the common property. They would do it from principle. If not, public sentiment would compel them.

He proceeded to notice some objections. It had been alleged that we should be a *pro-slavery* church. But how stood the facts? The South was satisfied with the book of discipline as it is. The North were not satisfied, and had made an aggression on established compromises. We resist those aggressions. How does this make us *pro slavery*? They invaded the principle of equal rights and privileges, North and South. We maintain that the South has no right to relinquish the ground of equal privileges and prerogatives. Their action had always prescribed the South by the omnipotence of the ballot-box; but the principle had never been avowed before. Now proscription was avowed and declared to be the policy of the church, and to this the South could not and would not submit. To do so, would be to give up at once the Methodist Episcopal Church in the slaveholding states.

The fact was we had the same constitution, the same organic principles, the same doctrines as ever. This was no new form of Methodism. We had the old usages, forms, and ceremonies; the old preachers, some of the old bishops, and the old unalterable principles of Christianity. Under the out-gushing impulses of the old spirit, as soon as our contemplated organization was completed, we should go forth, every man animated with unconquerable zeal, to spread the old scriptural holiness over the land. However it might be with the Northern church, he held that the Southern church would be true to the grand, original sole design of Methodistic organization — universal love to God and man — spiritual, religious ends and purposes, unmixed with political designs, unwarped by secular tendencies.

Let the history of the early church teach the world the danger of large ecclesiastical bodies interfering with civil relations and political

ends. The gospel of Jesus Christ contemplated no such purposes. He warned Northern and Western brethren, if any such were here, that we intended to bring Methodism back to its original, spiritual ends and designs. On this subject, we intended to live and die by the doctrines of the "Protest."

It was said that this movement would produce dissensions and strife. The resolutions of Southern meetings had been blamed as intemperate. He did not mean to say that, under a sense of injury, the South had not occasionally said strong things. But had not Northern editors and writers far exceeded every hard thing which the South had said? Personal vituperation had been unsparingly employed by them. They made every thing personal. How had the noble champion of Southern rights been treated by Dr. Bond? As he (Mr. P.) saw that his friend Dr. Bascom was not in the house, he would speak more freely. A man, honored universally by his Southern brethren for his talents, virtues and most valuable services, had been made the shining mark for Bond's envenomed shafts. Dr. Bond talks of radicalism! It could be proved that his name stands appended to a petition to the General Conference in 1824 for *lay delegation*. To be sure, he was converted over to the right side before the final catastrophe came. Yet, if report speaks truly, he was won over by a *quid pro quo* consideration. Is he the person to taunt Dr. Bascom with former opinions?

After deposing, in a summary manner, of the allegation that the Southern men were ambitious of the honors of the church, he glanced at the objection that the present movement was *unconstitutional*. But who, he asked, was to be the judge of the constitutionality of this thing? The bench of Bishops have not pronounced it unconstitutional. The annual conferences have not. The general conference itself had elevated to the episcopate the very speaker who claimed for it all power in heaven and earth, but what was reserved to the annual conferences in the restrictive rules.

The general conference then claimed the power, and exercised the power involved in the provisions of the plan on which we are acting. Shall Northern editors adjudicate this matter? Preposterous idea—presumption indescribable! The fact was, Methodism claimed, and did actually possess, a self-adjusting energy. It adapted its economical rules and jurisdictional principles to the world as it found it. It existed in monarchical governments, it was found in republics, it made its lodgment in the West Indies, in the East Indies, in every latitude, in every zone; and everywhere it was the conservator of existing law, of order, of public peace. It is no friend of discord—O'Connellizing the

masses of society, but it goes forth to soothe the sorrows it cannot prevent; to alleviate the burdens it cannot remove; to guild the dying hours of the poor sufferer in life's pilgrimage, and point the dying eye to the glories of immortality. Dr. Paine sat down amid loud cheering from every part of the assembly.

The Bishop appointed the following gentlemen as the committee on the Southern book concern.

Wm. Winans, E. Stevenson, M. Brock, H. A. C. Walker, T. Crowder Thomas Johnson.

On motion the convention adjourned.

ELEVENTH DAY.

TUESDAY MORNING, May 13.

The convention met pursuant to adjournment.

The President called for memorials and reports of committees; no response.

The resolution offered by Drs. Smith and Pierce on a former occasion was then called up, and Mr. Crowder of the Virginia conference, rose and said:

He spoke under great embarrassment. He was aware that the ground had been occupied in the able speeches which had preceded. Nevertheless he felt it to be his duty to set forth his views on the subject which had agitated the church throughout the length and breadth of the land. His object was to show that the purpose of the discipline to extirpate the great evil of slavery could not be carried out by the course of the abolitionists. He was free to acknowledge, with his brother from South Carolina, (Mr. Dunwoody,) that slavery under some circumstances was an evil: yet he had properly said that under other circumstances it was not an evil. Indeed the Bible did not condemn slavery as a sin, as it now exists among us. St. Paul has classed kidnappers with the most flagrant offenders; and it was in view of this principle that the general rule inhibiting the buying and selling of men, women and children, with the intention of enslaving them, was introduced into the discipline. Upon this ground he was determined to stand forever; and he was persuaded that in this sentiment every member of the convention concurred with him.

This principle (kidnapping) led, in the first instance, to the slave trade, which is now sought to be put down by all nations. This is what he understood slavery to be in the *abstract*, and this is what the discipline assumes to be wrong, and what the gospel proposes to extirpate,

and Christianity to destroy. Slavery, in the concrete, was an evil in many particulars, but it is a necessary evil, and therefore it cannot be regarded as a sin. We must manage the subject in the best possible manner. Hence, our discipline adapts itself, in the regulation of this matter, to the laws of the state; this is the ground the Methodist Episcopal Church took at the beginning, and this is the position which we intend still to maintain in the South. Mr. Crowder proceeded with scriptural and moral aspects of the subject at some length; after which he reviewed the policy of the abolitionists and the late General Conference. He argued the necessity of a separate organization, affirming that we intend to maintain sound Methodistie doctrines and usages in all our movements.

Mr. Brush, of the Kentucky conference, presented memorials from the Wesley chapel and Fourth and Eighth street stations, in relation to establishing the book concern in Louisville, which were referred to the committee on the book concern.

Mr. Evans asked for privilege to offer a resolution — leave was granted, and he then submitted the following:

Resolved, That, in the judgment of this convention, it is not necessary that the general causes and necessities for a separate organization should be discussed any longer, unless some members from the border conferences should think it proper to do so, in order to represent their portion of the church correctly.

Mr. Evans, in support of his resolution, said that all the leading or main questions had been fully discussed, and thought therefore, it was time to bring the arguments to a close. He was afraid an improper impression had already gone abroad. The public mind would be impressed with the idea that we had a great conflict over the resolutions now pending, and that it was difficult to harmonize the views of the members of the convention; when, in fact, there has been great unanimity of feeling and sentiment in all our deliberations. He wished, however, the members from the border conferences to be heard, provided they had a desire to speak.

Mr. Brush said, so far as he was concerned, he had no particular desire to speak, nor did he believe any of his colleagues, had any special inspiration, prompting them to address the convention. They had held a caucus and proposed to select some member of their delegation to represent the views of Kentucky, yet they were a little fearful to make an election, lest the fact of designating a special speaker should drive away the spirit. They had, therefore, concluded to await the moving of the spirit. They had as fine speakers in Kentucky as could be produced

in any other country. The Kentuckians were orators by nature and by education, and the twelve were all speakers except Dr. Bascom, who seldom spoke save in the pulpit. They employed him in writing, he therefore had not the time to speak; but, sir, as to the remaining eleven, they can speak equal to Brother Crowder, Dr. Smith, or any member of the convention.

Mr. Kavanaugh said he was not in the meeting to which his brother alluded, and did not therefore understand that there was a determination upon the part of the delegation from Kentucky not to speak. He had been pleased with the course the discussion had taken — the sentiments expressed by the brethren from the South proper accorded with the views of those from the border conferences. And he was fully satisfied we owed it to God and the church to separate. It is true, said Mr. Kavanaugh, the border conferences had been greatly agitated; but sir they can bear more than the extreme South. In the contemplated separation they went with the South because the South went with the discipline. They were disposed to be Methodists according to law and usage. He said principle identified them with the South, and with the South they would stand, live or die. He said that we are obliged to be a border conference, whether the line of separation run on the one side or the other; if it runs North then it identifies them with the South, just where the principles involved should locate them; if it ran South, our position would be extremely awkward; we should be considered traitors to the interests of Kentucky, and the North, so far from welcoming us, would look upon us as intruders, and as having transferred our odium upon them — the odium of that villany of all villains; and thus we should be left where the early history of our own land always placed them, on the "dark and bloody ground."

There was no choice, Mr. Kavanaugh said, left them; they must be identified either with the North or the South. So far as he was concerned, he intended to follow principle and cleave to the doctrines of Methodism. Mr. Kavanaugh briefly traced the history of church legislation on the subject of slavery up to the late General Conference. Upon the action of that Conference in the case of Harding he dwelt with peculiar force and emphasis; he showed that it was a triumph of prejudice over law. Up till the time the vote was taken, he had been fully satisfied that the decision of the Baltimore conference would be reversed, and he had so expressed himself to a friend. What then was his astonishment when the General Conference, by such a vast majority, affirmed that decision. Upon Mr. Early's motion to reverse the decision, he was astounded. The roll began at New York. N. Baugs (the

first name on the list) was absent. P. Rice responded no! It fell like thunder upon his ear, and thus through the whole list of Northern, Eastern and Northwestern conferences, the roes continued to roar like peals of thunder, till he was completely overwhelmed. From that moment he was alarmed and felt that the South had nothing to expect.

Mr. Kavanaugh briefly and in the most graphic manner sketched the history of the proceedings of the General Conference in the case of Bishop Andrew, and the injurious influence they had exerted upon the South. We regret that we have not room for the whole of Mr. Kavanaugh's eloquent and logical address. His allusions to the patriotism of Kentucky, and to the loyalty of Kentucky Methodists and their fixed purpose to adhere to the laws of the land and the discipline of the church, were most touching, producing the finest effect upon the audience.

In conclusion Mr. K. assured the convention that Kentucky, though in some instances misled by designing men, yet in the end she would be found right side up. Addressing himself to his Southern brethren he said, while they maintained principle he would always be found in their ranks. Their people should be his; where they went he would go; where they died he would die; with them he would be buried, and with them he would rise in the morning of the great day, when truth and purity would meet their just reward.

Mr. Stringfield, of Holston conference, Messrs. Patton and Monroe, of Missouri, followed, showing the position which their conferences occupied in relation to the great question. We have no room for their remarks. They all, however, showed their warm adherence to the South and assured the convention that, though they had been somewhat disturbed by internal divisions, in the end their people would go *en masse* with their Southern brethren.

Messrs. Gunn and Harrison, of the Kentucky delegation, each added a few remarks, the first defining his position. He said it might be found in his votes, as recorded in the journal of the last General Conference, and in the protest and declaration to which he had placed his signature. Mr. Harrison, from the Augusta district, stated to the convention that some differences of opinion existed in his work, and he feared that in the end there would be some discord.

TWELFTH DAY,

WEDNESDAY MORNING, May 14.

The convention met pursuant to adjournment.

The president called for reports.

The Rev. J. Early, chairman of the committee on finance, presented a report, which was read and ordered to be printed for to use of the convention.

Dr. Capers, chairman of the committee on missions, submitted their report, which was read, and by motion, was laid on the table for the present.

The president called for memorials and petitions.

Mr. Hanner presented a petition from the quarterly conference of the McKendree charge, Nashville, Tenn., asking the attention of the convention to Nashville, as a suitable place for the location of the contemplated book concern, and inviting the convention to select that city as the seat of their first general conference.

On motion, the consideration of the resolution pending at the hour of adjournment yesterday was resumed.

Mr. Pitts, of Tennessee, addressed the convention briefly. Though not of a border conference, Mr. P. did not wish the main question to pass without a few remarks from him. He was not a member of the general conference of 1844, he therefore felt the greater solicitude to approve the action of the magnanimous minority in that body.

Mr. P. said the merits of the subject had been ably discussed. There were a few points, however, which he wished to notice, that had not been specially dwelt upon by any of the preceding speakers. He alluded to objections which had been urged to a separation — not by our enemies, but by some of our doubting friends. It had frequently been asked, why so hasty to consummate our plan of division? By reference to the history of our action, it would be seen that the South had evinced any other spirit than that of rashness. There was a point where forbearance ceased to be a virtue; we had reached that point now. Here Mr. Pitts gave a succinct statement of the numerous efforts of the Southern delegates to preserve the union, of the Church at the last General Conference, showing that all these were staved off by the majority; and even the proposition of the bench of bishops for postponement the last star in the heavens, had been beclouded by the action of the majority, who discourteously laid their communication on the table.

The minority had been driven by stern necessity, not by a sickly paroxysm of expediency. He feared, by the way, that he should never love that word expediency again. If we hesitate, he would ask if we

could hope ever to secure the co-operation of the majority in the work of division? If, said he, we again submit this question to the majority, they will rescind or expunge the last vestige of the plan from the records and send us adrift without a single plank of hope. This is not an unheard of thing in the majority. One General Conference could easily remove the landmarks established by the other. Instance the address of the Bishops to the General Conference of 1844, the report of the committee on the Westmoreland memorial, and the resolutions regulating the testimony of colored persons. Mr. Pitts pursued his argument with force and pathos, closing with a declaration of his firm purpose to adhere to true Methodism as set forth in the discipline and maintained by the Church in the South.

Mr. Brock, of Memphis conference, said he represented a border conference. It was bounded on the North by the Ohio, extending down the Mississippi river 300 miles or more, including a fine country, chivalrous people, many Christians, and a great many negroes. He said the subject which had agitated the church had been fully canvassed in the primary meetings, quarterly conferences, and the annual conference, in all of which there had been great unanimity of sentiment and action. His connection with that conference had been short, and therefore he begged to refer the convention to the statements of his colleagues, who had been pioneers of Methodism in that country and had suffered much and labored long in the cause of Christ among that people.

Mr. McMahon said it had not occurred to him, until now, that he represented a border conference; he thought the resolution precluded him the privilege of speaking. He had thirty-three years ago preached the gospel at Jeffersonville, just across the river, in the Governor's house; by solicitation he came to this city when there were but five male members in the place. He had been taken from Ohio by Bishop McKendree to clear him of the abolitionists. He was thought to be a good hand to manage the slave question in Kentucky, and therefore he had been brought to this state, where he preached to the master and the slave, and from that time to the present he had labored specially to promote the salvation of the African race. And really he thought the negroes loved him as well as they loved Bishop Andrew.

Mr. Gunn made a few remarks, by way of explanation, referring to the address of Mr. Pitts.

Mr. Crouch, of Kentucky, addressing the chair, inquired, Mr. President, may I say a word? I have no speech to make, but I will simply remark: 1st. That I am a Southerner, a thorough Southerner in feeling and church policy. 2d. I was the first one of the Kentucky dele-

gation, in the late General Conference, to take ground with the farther South. 3d. From that ground I have never removed a hair's breadth; nor have I had any reason in the least to recede. 4th. When my constituents shall call on me for the reasons of my course in this convention I will present them. 5th. When it shall appear to me that the convention cannot get along with business and do things correctly, without my counsel, I will give all the light I have; but until then I am willing to keep my seat.

Rev. Dr. Smith, of Virginia, proposed that the question be now taken on the resolution offered by him some days since. Dr. S. said he would take this occasion to remark that the protracted discussion on this resolution was not because of any material difference of opinion on the main question (as the remarks of the speakers would show) which had brought the convention together, but to meet the wishes of many who were in attendance, who were seeking information, which information had been withheld by those journals of the church to which they had access. The business of the convention had been assigned to appropriate committees, who had been diligently prosecuting their duties, and in the meantime it had been the pleasure of the convention to indulge this laudable desire for correct knowledge on this subject.

This object had now been attained, and the principle committee would probably report to-morrow, and he, therefore thought we might close the discussion and take the question on the resolution. He affirmed, in conclusion, that the discussion has not been maintained because of any material dissension among the members of the convention. If in this he was wrong, he challenged public contradiction. No one offered a correction.

Mr. Harris, of Memphis conference, said, though for many years a member of the General Conference, he had seldom occupied the floor. It was not for want of interest in the proceedings of that body, for he regarded himself as responding to the claims the church had upon him in that relation when he watched and voted upon all subjects affecting its interests. He fully confirmed the statements made by his colleagues Messrs. Brock and McMahon, in reference to the unanimity of sentiment and action existing among the people in that conference. He only knew of two dissenting voices in the whole extent of their work.

Mr. Catlett of the Holston conference, said that in view of the action of the Baltimore conference, a portion of their work might be considered border. They were separated from the Baltimore conference by New-River, and all along the margin of that stream the people entertained the same views on the subject of division. He said they were

thoroughly Methodistical in their principles, and he wished very much that something might go out from that body that would correct any undue prejudices that might exist in their minds in reference to what would be their position in the event of a separation.

After some desultory remarks, Mr. Evans, of Georgia, withdrew his resolution, and Dr. Smith's resolution was called up and read. When the vote was about to be taken, Mr. Boyle arose in his place and said that he had come to this convention with cherished impressions that a separation was not necessary, but since he had listened to the discussions and heard the representations of the brethren from all parts of the South, he was fully satisfied that the separation was inevitable. He should therefore vote for the resolution, and felt it due to himself to make this avowal, believing that it was understood by the delegation from Missouri that though the necessity with them might not be so imperious, yet, making common cause with the South, it was the interest and duty of Missouri to go into the Southern organization.

Mr. Green, of Missouri, said he had been for a long time a member of the Missouri conference; he claimed to understand the sentiments of that people; and he did believe that the interests of Methodism in that region required the separation. Mr. Green, in an animated address, sustained the doctrines of the resolution. Having concluded his remarks, the question was taken and passed with one dissenting voice.

The following is the resolution.

Resolved by the Delegates of the several Annual Conferences in the South and Southwestern States, in General Convention assembled, That we cannot sanction the action of the late General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, on the subject of slavery, by remaining under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of this body, without deep and lasting injury to the interests of the church and country; we, therefore, hereby instruct the committee on organization that if, upon a careful examination of the whole subject, they find that there is no reasonable ground to hope that the Northern majority will recede from their position and give some safe guaranty for the future security of our civil and ecclesiastical rights, they report in favor of a separation from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the said General Conference.

On the passage of the resolution, Bishop Soule observed that the vote was very remarkable for its unanimity.

On motion the convention adjourned, with benediction by Bishop Soule.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 15th.

The convention met pursuant to adjournment.

The president called for reports — no response. He called for petitions and memorials.

Mr. Brush, of Kentucky, presented the following memorial from the mayor and city council of Louisville:—

LOUISVILLE, MAY 14th, 1845.

REV. GEO. W. BRUSH:

At a meeting of the Mayor and Council of the city of Louisville, held this morning the 14th inst. the following resolutions were adopted unanimously, and the undersigned were, on motion, requested to hand you a copy of the same, to wit;

Resolved, That L. L. Shreve, J. I. Jacob, W. D. Dinwiddie, J. M. Delph, P. Maxcy, W. H. Grainger, C. M. Strader, W. W. Fry, Curran Pope and P. Butler be appointed a committee to inquire into the expediency of tendering to the Methodist convention suitable inducements for the location of their book concern in the city of Louisville; and, provided they shall deem it expedient to act on this subject, to report some suitable plan of action in the premises.

Farther—*Resolved*, That we tender to said convention assurances that we would hail with pleasure the location of the said book establishment in our city, and our kindest wishes for the entire success of the enterprise.

With sentiments of esteem,

We are, respectfully, etc.,

F. A. KAYE, Mayor.

Mr. Brush also presented a memorial from the citizens of Louisville, with two hundred and fifty signatures, and one from fifty-eight lawyers of Louisville — all asking the location of the contemplated book concern in this city.

On motion, the convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole, for the purpose of considering the report of the missionary committee. Mr. Early was called to the chair and the report read.

After some discussion upon the merits of the report, the committee, on motion arose, reported progress and begged leave to sit again.

Dr. Bascom, chairman of the committee on organization, presented and read their report, which occupied one hour and three quarters.

On motion, it was ordered that one hundred copies be printed for the use of the convention.

: Dr. Winans was excused from serving on the book committee and A. L. P. Green was appointed to supply his place,

Dr. Paine was excused from serving on the committee on education and G. F. Pierce was appointed to fill his place.

On motion the convention adjourned.

FOURTEENTH DAY.

FRIDAY MORNING, May 16.

The president inquired if any of the committees were in readiness to report. None presented. Memorials and petitions were then called for, but none were presented.

The convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole, and resumed the consideration of the report on missions.

Rev. Mr. Green, of Tennessee, spoke to the question of location, and gave his reasons for preferring Nashville to Petersburg, Va., and stated facts in relation to the soundness of the banks and merchants of Nashville, which he represented on as solid a base as the Blue Ridge. The people were wealthy and hospitable — and more than all, they were characteristically liberal. He instanced the fact that some of his brethren had invited Bishop Soule to make it his place of residence — and that the people had made a contribution of over three thousand dollars, as a fund for the erection of a house for the Bishop. Rev. Mr. Green urged many considerations which induced him to prefer Nashville.

Rev. Dr. Longstreet said it was not of much importance what point was selected, as after the establishment of the book concern, the chief mission station would take its place alongside of it.

Rev. Mr. McMahon obtained the floor and addressed the committee in a strain of quaint humor that was productive of much merriment. He preferred Memphis above all other points named. It was unquestionably the finest point in the world for starting from. From thence, said he, you may set out at all seasons of the year for any point of the universe. Mr. McMahon spoke of the liberality of the citizens of Memphis. He instanced the fact that when a call had been made on the friends of mission for subscriptions, one noble minded man of Memphis responded — though not a wealthy man — he put his hand into his pocket, and took out \$500 for that object. He did not hesitate to name this good man, (for he did not believe the reporters would notice it.) It was brother Banks who had acted thus nobly.

The nominator of New Orleans withdrew his nomination.

The Rev. Mr. Berryman (not a member of the convention) a missionary, was invited to make a statement in relation to payments to missionaries. These payments are made quarterly, by drafts. These were generally sold to merchants in the vicinity of their stations. It is of

little moment where you locate your missionary treasury, so that it is convenient to get them cashed (by the merchants who buy them) and go East to make their purchases. It is not always the case that those who purchase our drafts are Methodists.

Rev. Mr. Monroe said, from the representation just made, he would withdraw St. Louis.

Rev. Mr. Early said he desired to make a few remarks in perfect good nature. In reply to what had been advanced by Mr. Green in relation to the amount raised in Nashville for the venerable Bishop Soule. (3300 dollars) Mr. Early said if the Bishop would come to Virginia, that conference would raise him 6000 dollars, and that was a fair offset. In reference to Nashville, Mr. Early said, the arguments of Mr. Green were conclusive why that city should not be selected. He had it from the cashier of a Louisville bank, that Kentucky money was better in Nashville than Tennessee money (when out of bank.) Mr. Early said he was perfectly satisfied that Nashville was not a favorable point of location.

Bishop Soule, in rising to address the committee, said he was not confident of the propriety of his saying anything upon the subject. It was not his intention to speak of localities — that was a matter of minor consideration with him. The object was one altogether of a financial character, and he should treat it as such; as a financial object, it should be discussed and viewed in all its bearings of advantage and disadvantage to the Church and its financial operations. We should not give it a location on any other principle or from any other motive. It will be admitted by all that we cannot use bullion for a currency — we must use paper, either in the form of bank notes, post notes or bills of exchange. All great financial operations are adjusted with this species of currency.

Our great missionary operations must all be carried on by one or all of these methods. Were I, said Bishop Soule, in the Indian country, Arkansas, Florida or Texas, to make a draft on the treasurer in New York for twelve thousand dollars, and hand it over for disbursement, it would be worthless if the agent could not get it *cash*ed. He does so, by selling it (at, perhaps, a premium) to a merchant going to that city. It is taken on, deposited in bank, the treasurer is notified, and he pays it. As a body of Methodist preachers, we are not merchants; and he had often thought that a body thus constituted were not very well qualified for carrying on large financial operations. Not that the ministers of the Methodist Church were in any respect wanting in all those high and lofty qualities which distinguish a moral and religious class — but from their pecu-

liar position and separation from secular enjoyments. They are distinguished for high moral principle.

The plain question for your decision is, where can the location be made to the greatest advantage? Merchants and those most conversant with the course of trade, tell us that New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore are the great central points. It appears to me, then that in fixing your location, a due regard should be had to the point South and West which will most naturally combine advantages in connexion with this fact. The establishment of your treasury should be made with reference to these supposed advantages. If you establish it at Nashville or Petersburg all your drafts will have to be sent thither for payment. Under the case supposed, of my draft being given to the West, and then cashed by a merchant going to New York, it will have to be transmitted for collection and subjected to a discount. There is another consideration. Wherever you establish your book concern there, it appears to me, should be your treasury. It may happen that the treasury will be obliged to draw on the book concern, the funds of which are applicable to the necessities as it is the property of the church.

Rev. Mr. McFerrin gave the committee notice that should Louisville be selected he would move for a dissolution of the Southern Christian Advocate concern and establish it at Louisville. It could not be sustained if separated from the mission station.

Rev. Mr. McMahon said he would, in view of what had been said, withdraw Memphis.

Rev. Mr. Harrell said he had long labored in the missionary field.

His disbursements had amounted to \$30,000, and he had never lost a dollar in exchange. The negotiation had been principally in New Orleans.

Dr. Smith begged to call the attention of the committee to an aspect of this subject of startling interest, and that might one day produce disastrous consequences; I allude, said he, to the disposition, so unceremoniously displaying itself—a disposition to move every thing West of the mountains—book concern—missionary society and all. He was no oracle, but would take occasion to warn the committee against acting on this principle, or giving occasion to awaken the fear that the principle of mere majorities should control every thing. This, said he, was the principle which had already cloven down the liberties of the Church, and caused the *genius of union* to stand at Northern altars, as a suppliant for indulgence! As he did on another occasion, in General Conference 1832, warn the majority of that body, so he would now warn them.

This calamity in the Southern Church was now in its egg state ; now you can put your foot upon it and crush it ; but if you breath upon it the warm breath of your approbation, it will hatch a scorpion that will sting you to the heart. Those admonished had not heeded the counsel and division was the result. He warned them against a policy which, he felt sure it was not in their *purpose* to indulge. [These remarks were uttered with great earnestness, and produced corresponding sensation.] He concluded by urging the claims of Petersburg. She was entitled to consideration. It was a question of finance. Less loss would be incurred in negotiating drafts. There were the lay men in Petersburg, who were not only competent to manage it, but whose liberality was equal to the emergencies to which the society would often be subjected. This latter point he insisted on at length. It would, he said, often prove a point of friction. It was important to have men to manage it whose enlarged and liberal views and feelings would prove equal to the many occasions, in the affairs of the society, that would put them in requisition.

Rev. Mr. McFerrin said he deeply regretted to hear these remarks.

Dr. Longstreet said he was a Southerner and he would therefore speak, as his brother, Dr. Smith, had desired them to take warning. This warning was certainly in time, for the action has not been had. He could not but think the alarm was unnecessary. In taking the missionary and book concern you take a deal of trouble. He would not object to this—but he did object to take their papers along with the other concerns. These he desired rightly divided. He wanted to be heard through them. He regretted the warning of Dr. Smith because he thought it out of place.

Dr. Smith said he deeply regretted that any thing had fallen from him to disturb the feelings of any brother. He explained, (and we believe very satisfactorily to all) his reasons for springing counsel on so delicate a subject, and with so much earnestness. He said the committee seemed bound by a sort of mesmeric attraction to Nashville or Louisville as the proper place of location. Nor even his revered friend and colleague from Virginia (pointing to Rev. Mr. Early), honored by age and unusual experience in financial matters, could get a hearing. He resolved at all reasonable hazards to break this spell of attraction. He had accomplished his object. The claims of Petersburg had been heard. Even a speech in support of his doctrines had been elicited from the venerable Bishop Soule.

In the mean time he had taken occasion to admonish them of an important and delicate matter, which should not be disregarded. He did not

design to express an unkind distrust of the ruling majority in these cases. The claims of Petersburg had been now fairly heard. He was satisfied. If they should think proper to vote against Petersburg, no man could more readily acquiesce. In the mean time he hoped they would not only profit by his suggestions, but give us the missionary society East of the mountains.

Bishop Andrew, in rising, said (humorously) he would be obliged to the committee to tell him what latitude and longitude they were in. — (Some one answered Petersburg.) Very well, be that as it may, it did seem to him, he said, that a great deal of time had been uselessly consumed on a subject of minor importance. He had not heard Charleston named, and yet, said the Bishop, Charleston is one of the most liberal Conferences in the connection. There would be a manifest propriety in a pecuniary point of view in making that the parent station.

In allusion to the manner in which the various points had been urged in a pecuniary point of view, Bishop Andrew remarked (jocularly) that the contributions of the blacks under charge of the late Charleston Conference exceeded that of the largest Conferences either in the South or West, and that among them they might probably find some pretty good managers — but in deference to the brethren of the South Carolina delegation, he would not press that point. His only object in rising was to say that, in his humble judgment, the convention was consuming the time unprofitably.

The vote was now demanded from all sides of the house.

The first place nominated was Petersburg. The question to make that place the parent missionary station being put, only 18 rose in its favor. Louisville was next in order. For making this city the parent station, a large majority of the convention arose.

The chair announced the vote to be in favor of constituting Louisville the parent station of missions.

The points for two assistant treasurers were then decided to be Charleston and New Orleans.

The report was read as amended in committee of the whole, adopted and on motion the committee rose and reported the same to the convention, Bishop Soule in the chair. On motion by Mr. Lee, the report was laid on the table until the report on organization shall have been disposed of.

On motion the convention adjourned.

FIFTEENTH DAY.

SATURDAY MORNING, May 17th.

The convention met pursuant to adjournment.

Dr. Bascom presented a communication from Frankfort, relative to establishing a paper in that place, which was on motion referred to the committee on the book concern.

NEW ORGANIZATION.

On motion of Mr. Early, the report of the committee on organization was called up, and the first resolution read, which is as follows:

Be it resolved by the delegates of the several annual conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the slaveholding States, in general convention assembled, That it is right, expedient, and necessary to erect the annual conferences, represented in this convention, into a district ecclesiastical connection, separate from the jurisdiction of the General Conference, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as at present constituted; and accordingly, we, the delegates of said annual conferences, acting under the provisional plan of separation adopted by the General Conference of 1844, do solemnly declare the jurisdiction hitherto exercised over said annual conferences by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, entirely dissolved: and that said annual conferences shall be, and they hereby are constituted a separate ecclesiastical connection, under the provisional plan of separation aforesaid, and based upon the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, comprehending the doctrines, and entire moral, ecclesiastical, and economical rules and regulations of said discipline, except only in so far as verbal alterations may be necessary to a distinct organization, and to be known by the style and title of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Mr. Early then moved its adoption.

Mr. Lee moved that the ayes and noes be taken, which was concurred in, and the vote stood:—

Ayes 94. Nays 3. Messers Gunn, G. W. Taylor and John C. Harrison.

The second resolution, which is as follows, was read and, on motion of Mr. Crowder, was adopted:

Resolved, That while we cannot abandon or compromise the principles of action, upon which we proceed to a separate organization in the South, nevertheless cherishing a sincere desire to maintain christian-union and fraternal intercourse with the church North, we shall always be ready, kindly and respectfully, to entertain and duly and carefully consider any proposition or plan, having for its object the union of the

two great bodies in the North and South, whether such proposed union be *jurisdictional or connectional*.

Ayes 97, noes none.

Mr. Early presented a farther report from the committee on organization, which is as follows :

Resolved, That this convention request the Bishops, presiding at the ensuing session of the border conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *South*, to incorporate into the aforesaid conferences any societies or stations adjoining the line of division, provided such societies or stations, by a majority of the members according to the provisions of the plan of separation as adopted by the late General Conference, request such an arrangement.

Resolved, That answer second of third section, and chapter first of the book of discipline, be so altered and amended as to read as follows :

The General Conference shall meet on the first day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1846, in the town of Pittsburg, Virginia, and thence forward in the month of April or May, once in four years successively, and in such place and on such day as shall be fixed on by the preceding General Conference, &c.

Resolved farther, That the first answer in the same chapter be altered by striking out the word *twenty-one* and inserting in its place the word *fourteen*.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

JOHN EARLY, *Chairman*.

The first resolution was adopted ; ayes 97, noes none.

The second resolution was adopted ; ayes 97, noes none.

The third resolution was adopted ; ayes 97, noes none.

The entire report was then adopted unanimously.

The report of the committee on finance was called up. After some discussion, Dr. Capers offered the following resolution as a substitute, which was adopted :

Resolved, That it appears not to be necessary at present to appoint commissioners or agents, as provided for in the plan of separation adopted by the late General Conference. Nevertheless we recommend the same to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *South*, as proper to be done so soon as it can be with effect.

MISSION PLAN.

On motion of Mr. Speer, the report of the committee on missions was called up and read.

Dr. Smith moved to strike out Louisville and insert Petersburg, Virginia, which was lost.

Dr. Paine then moved to strike out Louisville and insert Nashville, which was also lost.

The report was then adopted, which is as follows:

The committee to whom was referred the subject of providing for the management and support of missions, respectfully report —

That in view of the present aspect of our missionary field and our position in relation to them, the whole subject referred to — always interesting and important — becomes eminently vital and essential, and your committee, having passed in review the conditions and prospects of the several missions belonging to the Southern division of the church, and examined with due deliberation and intense solicitude the questions which have arisen as to the means of supporting them, have arrived at the conclusion that, though in other circumstances it should seem plausible to change materially our system of finance, it is best for the present to introduce no changes but such as are necessary to conform our missionary system to our church organization. And we deem it to be reason enough for this conclusion, that were changes made which might prove advantageous after they had become familiar to the numerous persons to be moved by them, they would, at their introduction, be less productive for the want of familiarity, and the present juncture imperatively requires a plan for immediate production.

Your committee, therefore, do respectfully offer the following resolutions as specifying what is requisite to be done at the present time, and as comprehending, in connection with what is provided in the book of discipline, all which to them appears suitable in our circumstances.

1. *Resolved*, That until a general conference of the annual conferences represented in this convention shall have ordered otherwise, the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the city of Louisville shall be regarded as the central or parent society; said society having previously changed its title and adopted a constitution agreeably to the purport of these resolutions.

2. That the board of managers of the central society aforesaid shall appoint two assistant treasurers, of whom one shall be a resident of the city of Charleston and the other of the city of New Orleans, to whom moneys intended for the general treasury may be remitted and who shall make quarterly exhibits to the treasurer, at Louisville, of their receipts and disbursements severally.

3. That the board of managers of each annual conference auxiliary supply the demands of the missions of its annual conference, as far as it can be done, notifying the bishop or president of the conference of any deficiency, for which he may draw on the general treasury at Lou-

isville, or on one of the assistant treasurers at Charleston or New Orleans; and in case there be a surplus with any of the conference societies the treasurer of such society shall forthwith transmit it to the general treasurer or one of the assistant treasurers.

4. That the bishops be requested to aid the central board with their counsel as to the appropriation of the funds, and that the brethren, Alexander L. P. Green, Jerome C. Berryman, Benjamin M. Drake, Littleton Fowler, William Capers and Hubbard H. Kavanaugh be a committee for the same purpose.

5. That the missions connected with the Southern division of the church must be sustained, and, with the blessing of God they shall be, and, that this may be done with greater facility, it is enjoined on all missionaries to make quarterly reports of the work in their missions through one of our church papers.

All which is respectfully submitted.

MAY 14, 1845.

WM. CAPERS, *Chairman*.

Mr. McFerrin stated to the convention that the citizens of Louisville had authorized him to say that the expenses of the bishops in attending this convention, together with all the expenses incurred in printing documents for the use of the members, would be met by them.

Mr. G. F. Pierce moved a vote of thanks in return, which was passed by a rising vote.

On motion, the convention adjourned until 3 o'clock P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION,

THREE O'CLOCK, P.M., 17.—The convention met pursuant to adjournment, Bishop Andrew in the chair—prayer by Rev. F. Wilson, of Texas conference.

FINANCE REPORT.

Mr. Early, from the committee on finance, presented the following report, which was adopted:

The committee on finance recommend the adoption of the following resolution, viz:—

Resolved, That the family expenses of the bishops be equally divided among the fifteen annual conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and paid in the same manner that their quarterage and travelling expenses are now paid.

REPORT ON EDUCATION.

Mr. G. F. Pierce presented and read the report of the committee on education, which was adopted, with the exception of one item relative to the Transylvania University, which was recommitted for farther consideration.

REPORT ON THE BOOK ROOM.

Rev. A. L. P. Green, chairman of the book committee, submitted their report, which was read and adopted. It is as follows:—

The committee to whom was referred the subject of a book concern and periodicals, after taking the matter into mature consideration, respectfully beg leave to report:

Your committee take great pleasure in saying, to the convention, that quite a number of memorials and petitions, together with kind and liberal offers of pecuniary contributions, have come into their hands. From the town of Memphis we have received a very flattering proposal, consisting in a large brick building, formerly occupied as a tavern, which is said to have cost some thirty thousand dollars, (though its present value we would not attempt to estimate,) together with the expressed wish and desire of a large number of the citizens of the town and neighborhood, that our contemplated book concern should be located at that place, pledging themselves to aid and assist the enterprise to the utmost of their ability.

We have also received several petitions from the citizens of this city, (Louisville) praying its location here, and setting forth the claims of this place to your consideration; and farther assuring us that, should the book concern be established here, a considerable amount of funds can and will be raised in aid of such establishment.

We have been favored with a memorial from the city of Nashville setting forth the claims of that city as every way suitable for such an establishment.

St Louis has also been presented to your committee as anxious for the location of said concern, and as in every way eligible for the same.

While your committee are of the opinion that any one of the above mentioned places is worthy of such an establishment, and rejoices to learn that our friends in the South and Southwest feel so deep an interest in this auxiliary in promoting the cause of God and the best interests of mankind, yet it is the opinion of your committee that, as there will be a general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Petersburg next May, vested with full power to establish a book concern, and as farther developments may be yet made with respect to the most eligible point within our boundary to locate such an establishment;—

Resolved, therefore, That while we consider a book concern as indispensable to the prospects of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, yet we deem the establishment of one at this time premature; nevertheless we recommend the appointment of two book agents, whose duties

shall be to receive propositions for the location of the book concern, and also to receive monies and contributions to build up the same, and to report to the general conference to be held at Petersburg next May.

Resolved, That we recommend the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to continue for the present to patronize the Methodist book concerns at New York and Cincinnati.

Resolved, That we recommend our friends generally that they patronize our periodicals, viz: Southwestern Christian Advocate, Southern Christian Advocate, and the Richmond Christian Advocate, as every way worthy of our support.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

A. L. P. GREEN, Chairman.

The convention proceeded to elect two agents when John Early, of the Virginia conference, and John B. McFerrin, of the Tennessee conference, were chosen.

A communication from Brother Tal. P. Shaffner, relative to the publication of the proceedings, speeches, &c, of the convention, was, on motion of Mr. McFerrin, referred to the committee on the book concern.

On motion, the convention adjourned until Monday, at half past eight o'clock, A. M.

SIXTEENTH DAY.

MONDAY, MAY 19.

The convention met pursuant to adjournment.

BOOK COMMITTEE.

The President called for reports of committees, when Mr. Green, of Tennessee, chairman of the book committee, to whom the communication of Tal. P. Shaffner, of Louisville, was referred, submitted a very elaborate report, saying that they had considered the proposition before them, and that they did not doubt the ability and integrity of Mr. Shaffner to publish a valuable work to the church, but they regretted very much that they could not recommend the convention to accept of the proposal, upon the ground of its not being expedient for the church to *alienate* the right of the proceedings, &c., of this convention, and believing that such a work is necessary to be issued for the benefit of the church, they would offer the following resolutions, which were adopted.

Resolved, That the editor or editors of the South Western Christian Advocate, with A. L. P. Green, F. E. Pitts and John W. Hanner, be appointed a committee to be called the publishing committee, whose duty shall be to compile and publish *a work, or book*, which shall be called *The History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*.

Resolved, That said work shall contain a full account of the acts and doings of the late general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the cases of the Rev. James Osgood Andrew, D. D. one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Rev. F. A. Harding, of the Baltimore conference, together with the speeches in the above mentioned cases.

2d. The protest of the minority against the proceedings of the conference in the cases mentioned above,

3d. The declaration of the delegates from those conferences within the bounds of the slaveholding states.

4th. The addresses of Bishops Soule and Andrew before said conference.

5th. The plan of division by the committee of nine.

6th. The address of the Southern delegations to the church in the South.

7th. Action of each and all the annual conferences in the bounds of the Southern organization on the subject of division, or a separate Southern organization, together with the vote of each conference, in their respective resolutions.

8th. The addresses of Bishops Soule and Andrew before this convention, the manuscripts to be furnished by themselves.

9th. The acts and doings of this convention, together with the speeches which have been delivered.

Resolved father, That the following brethren, members of this body, be and are hereby *requested* and *expected* to furnish the publishing committee, within *one month* from this time or date, a manuscript copy of their speeches before this convention :

Dr. Winans, Dr. Capers, Dr. Smith, Rev. John Early Dr. Pierce, Rev. G. F. Pierce, Dr. Longstreet, Dr. Paine, Rev. T. Crowder, Rev. H. H. Kavanaugh, Rev. A. Monroe, Rev. William Patten, Rev. Joseph Boyle, Rev. William McMahon, Rev. F. E. Pitts, Rev. William Gunn, Rev. John C. Harrison, and Rev. S. Dunwoody,

The committee on publication shall also be at liberty to publish such other speeches as may have been reported with sufficient correctness to justify their publication.

Resolved, farther, That the journals of the convention, with all *memorials, petitions, reports, and papers*, be placed, for the present, in the hands of the publishing committee, to enable them to compile the contemplated work.

Resolved, farther, That Dr. Wm. Capers and Wm. M. Wightman be appointed to address a circular letter, in the form of a pastoral address,

to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and said letter shall form a portion of the contemplated work.

Resolved, farther, That should any thing which is not referred to in this report occur to the publishing committee, which, in their opinion, is of interest and properly belonging to the contemplated book, they shall be at liberty to use such matter.

Resolved, farther, That the establishment of the Southwestern Christian Advocate shall incur for the present the cost of publication, but shall have the first claim in the sale of the book until the money expended in the publication is refunded, after which the profits of the work shall belong to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

NEW ORGANIZATION.

On motion of Mr. Early, the report of the committee on organization was taken up.

Mr. Gunn stated that since the report had been printed, he had read it attentively, and subscribed to the doctrines it set forth. He had voted in the negative on the first resolution, and with that qualification he would now vote for the entire report. And now, said Mr. Gunn, that the plan of separation has been adopted and a distinct organization determined upon, he wished it distinctly understood that he would use his influence to promote the peace of the church. He should repudiate every thing like sub-divisions among our people.

After some conversation as to a few verbal expressions, the report was adopted —

AYES — Messrs. Bascom, Stevenson, Kavenaugh, Crouch, Gunn, Brush, King, James, Ralston, Monroe, Green, Glanville, Browning, Patten, Linn, Boyle, Johnson, Catlett, Springfield, Stevens, Sullins, Fulton, Paine, of Tenn., McFerren, Green, of Tenn., Pitts, Driskill, Hanner, Boucher, Maddin, Andrews, Bryant, Leigh, Blake, Carson, Doub, Brame Brock, Harris, McMahan, Joyner, Davidson, McAlister, Smith, of Memphis, Truslow, Custer, Early, Crowder, Smith, of Va., Lee, Penn, Dogget, Cowles, Dibrell, Campbell, Jones, Drake, Watkins, Winans, Fowler, Willson, Alexander, Hamilton, Boring, of Ala, Capers, of do., Lev-ert, Calloway, Summers, Garrett, L. Pierce, Glenn, Anthony, Longstreet, Boring, of Ga., Payn, of do., G. F. Pierce, Sanford, W. Capers, Wightman, Walker, Dunwoody, English, S. W. Capers, W. Smith, Boyd, P. P. Smith, Benning, Peery and Cummings.

NOES — Messrs. Taylor and Harrison, of Ky.

Mr. Early, from the committee on organization, reported the following resolutions for adoption, viz :

Resolved, That Bishops Soule and Andrew be and they are hereby respectfully and cordially requested by this convention to unite with,

and become regular and constitutional bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, upon the basis of the plan of separation adopted by the late General Conference.

Adopted *unanimously*.

To this resolution the bishops responded.

LOUISVILLE, MAY 18, 1845.

DEAR BRETHREN — In answer to the inquiry of the committee, I would state that I feel myself bound, in good faith, to carry out the official plan of the Episcopal Visitation as settled upon by the bishops in New York, and published in the official papers of the church, till the session of the first General Conference of the Methodist Church, South; from which time it would be necessary that the plan should be so changed as to be accommodated to the jurisdiction of the two distinct General Conferences. When such General Conference shall be held, I shall feel myself fully authorized, by the plan of separation adopted by the General Conference of 1844, to unite myself with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and if received by said church, to exercise the functions of the episcopal office within the jurisdiction of said General Conference.

I am, my dear brethren, yours, very affectionately,

JOSHUA SOULE.

LOUISVILLE, MAY, 1845.

DEAR BRETHREN — I decidedly approve the course which the convention has taken in establishing the Methodist Episcopal Church South, believing, as I do most sincerely, that it will tend, under God's blessing, to the wider spread and more efficient propagation of the gospel and of the grace of God. I accept the invitation of the convention to act as one of the superintendents of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and pledge myself, in humble dependence upon Divine grace, to use my best efforts to promote the cause of God, in the interesting and extensive field of labor assigned me.

May the blessing of God be upon us mutually, in our various fields of action, and finally may we all, with our several charges, be gathered to the home of God and the good in Heaven.

Affectionately, your brother and fellow laborer,

JAMES O. ANDREW.

The second and third resolutions were read, when an animated discussion ensued, in which Dr. Smith, Dr. Longstreet, Mr. McFerrin, Dr. Winans, Mr. Doggett, Mr. Lee, Mr. G. F. Pierce and Mr. Blake took part

The hour having come the convention adjourned till 3 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Three o'clock P. M. May 19.—The convention met pursuant to adjournment, Bishop Soule in the chair.

The consideration of the resolution pending at the hour of adjournment in the forenoon was resumed. After a few remarks from Mr. Early and Dr. Capers, the resolutions were withdrawn.

The following resolutions were adopted unanimously, viz.

Resolved, That should any portion of an annual conference, on the line of separation, not represented in this convention, adhere to the Methodist Church, South, according to the plan of separation adopted at the late General Conference, and elect delegates to the General Conference of the Church in 1846, upon the basis of representation adopted by this convention, they shall be accredited as members of the General Conference.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed, whose duty it shall be to prepare and report to the General Conference of 1846 a revised copy of the present discipline, with such changes as are necessary to conform it to the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Dr. W. Capers, W. M. Wightman and G. F. Pierce were appointed said committee.

G. F. Pierce presented a farther report from the committee on education, which was read and adopted.

W. Capers presented and read the pastoral address, which was read, adopted, and ordered to be printed.

Dr. Capers presented the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

Resolved, That we cherish an affectionate sense of the very kind obligations under which we have been laid to our friends of this city for the Christian hospitality with which we have been entertained at their houses during the session of this convention; and that our prayers to God shall not be wanting for their prosperity and spiritual welfare.

Resolved, That we entertain a grateful sense of the Christian liberality of those churches and pastors of this city who have invited us to their pulpits; and that we will not fail to remember them as brethren at the throne of Grace.

Dr. Winans offered the following, which was unanimously adopted by a rising vote:

Resolved, That the thanks of this convention be tendered to Bishops Soule and Andrew for the able and impartial manner in which they

have performed the laborious and responsible duties of the chair during the session of the convention.

Whiteford Smith offered the following resolution, which was adopted by a rising vote :

Resolved, That we devoutly acknowledge the superintending providence of God over this convention, and rejoice in the harmony which has prevailed in all its deliberations and decisions.

T. N. Ralston offered the following, which was adopted.

Resolved, That in the judgment of this convention those societies and stations on the border within the limits of conferences represented in this convention, be constructively understood as adhering to the South unless they see proper to take action on the subject, and in all such cases we consider the pastor of the station or society as the proper person to preside in the meeting.

Dr. Smith offered the following, which was adopted :—

Resolved, That the pastoral address be printed, and that such border charges or societies as may feel themselves called upon to make an election between the Northern and Southern divisions of the church be and are hereby requested to have the pastoral address of the convention read before the society, or the several societies of the charge, before voting on the subject.

After prayer by Rev. John Early, the members of the convention joined in singing that beautiful and appropriate hymn—

“ Our souls by love together knit ”

The convention then adjourned *sine die*, with the benediction by Bishop Soule.

FIRST GENERAL CONFERENCE

OF THE

WESLEYAN METHODIST CONNECTION

OF AMERICA.

[REPORTED BY L. C. MATLACK.]

This body of Christians and Christian ministers met in Cleveland, Ohio, Wednesday, Oct. 3, 1844, at 10 o'clock, A. M. As many were not present, a temporary organization only was entered into. The meeting was called to order by Edward Smith, and Luther Lee was appointed President *pro tem*. Levi Woodson was appointed Secretary *pro tem*. The roll of the members was made out in part, and it was announced that L. Lee would preach in the evening. The meeting then adjourned.

In the afternoon the Conference was organized fully. Orange Scott was elected President. He however declined serving. After various expressions of unwillingness, the Conference accepted his resignation. On a second or third balloting, Luther Lee was elected President. Being in the chair when the vote was announced, the president rose and remarked,

"It is not necessary to say, that I am embarrassed by the announcement just made. If a speech were necessary, I am not now qualified to make one. I can only say, that, looking to the Divine Being for aid, I will endeavor to serve you to the best of my abilities. When we shall have appointed a secretary, the Conference will engage in religious exercises suited to the occasion. The Conference will now attend to the election of a secretary by ballot."

At the first ballot, L. C. Matlack had the most votes for secretary, but there was no choice. He declined being a candidate for the office, and a second balloting resulted in the election of Robert McMurdy.

The President then called on Br. Boucher to read the Scriptures. After singing, Br. Boucher and Cyrus Prindle united in prayer. A hearty response was given to the supplications put forth, especially in repeating the Lord's Prayer. A holy glow of religious feeling pervaded the Com-

ference, which promises to guide the deliberations of this body to a happy issue. When the Conference resumed its business, it was voted that Lucius C. Matlack be appointed Conference reporter. Committees were appointed on Revisals, Boundaries, Pastoral Address, Slavery, Temperance, Education, Missions, Peace, and on the Annual Conference Journals. After announcing the meetings of various committees, the Conference adjourned to meet at 8 o'clock, A. M.

The following names are on the committees.

On Revisals. — L. Lee, Ed. Smith, P. A. Ogden, S. Bebens, Wm. H. Brewster, C. Prindle, Thos. Freeman, R. McMurdy, L. C. Matlack, J. Byington, George Swift, G. Pegler,

Books and Periodicals. — L. C. Matlack, J. W. Walker, J. Boucher, V. Meeker, J. Horton, L. King, A. R. Dempster, J. Watson, R. McMurdy, Wm. P. Essler, H. McKee.

Boundaries. — R. Bennett, H. McKee, Thos. McKeever, S. H. Chace, G. S. Baker, O. Scott.

A Pastoral Address. — C. Prindle, E. Smith, J. Boucher.

Slavery. — E. Smith, L. Lee, Wm. M. Sullivan.

Temperance. — Wm. H. Brewster, J. W. Walker, P. A. Ogden.

Missions. — L. Lee, L. Woodson, R. Brandriff, Wm. P. Essler, J. Horton, L. King.

Peace. — J. Walker, C. Woodruff, L. C. Matlack.

Itinerancy and Conference Records. — R. Gardiner, M. Harker, Wm. M. Sullivan, H. McKee, L. Lee, O. Scott.

Religious Services. — Edward Smith, J. Horton, Wm. M. Sullivan.

Observance of the Sabbath. — S. H. Chace, J. Young, G. Swift.

SECOND DAY. THURSDAY, Oct. 3.

The religious services were conducted by Wm. M. Sullivan, of Michigan. The minutes of yesterday were read. Memorials were called for.

Levi Woodson presented a copy of the English Wesleyan Hymn Book, with a request from Thomas Marshall, of Pittsburgh, to select a larger number of hymns therefrom, in case a second edition is ordered to be published.

P. A. Ogden presented one from a lay delegate, who was detained by sickness. It requested changes in various items in the Discipline.

R. McMurdy, from the Miami Conference, read from the minutes of that conference various matters for the consideration of the General Conference.

Wm. M. Sullivan, for the Michigan Conference, presented memorials on various matters pertaining to the administration of the Church.

Wm. H. Brewster, for the New England Conference, read various proposed revisions, which were referred, as were the others, to appropriate committees.

J. Horton presented a memorial from J. N. Mars, a colored man, asking for an expression of the Conference on the appointment of colored men to serve churches of white members. Referred to a special committee.

C. Prindle, from L. King, on alterations of the Discipline,— a resolution of the Champlain Conference on revisals. Referred.

J. Watson presented memorials — one from an unstationed minister, on having unstationed preachers ordained by any two or three elders, in special cases.

The President supposed it might be called forth by the action of the New York Annual Conference, in declining to elect to orders some who were not in attendance.

From the same — two memorial on secret oath-bound societies, in favor of prohibiting members from joining such societies. Referred.

The President presented a memorial signed by 40 names, from Frankfort circuit, on the same subject. Referred.

J. M. Walker, for the Alleghany Conference, presented the action thereof against secret oath-bound societies—in favor of a Western periodical, and of fixing the time of admission to the ministry.

H. McKee presented one from Keesville, on admitting to the Lord's Supper among us those who belong to pro-slavery churches. Referred to a special committee. R. Bennett, J. Horton, M. Harker are the committee.

Some discussion now occurred on the question, "Are the circuits and stations entitled to as many lay delegates as they may recommend brethren to the travelling ministry?" It was but of small interest.

Isaac Winans, some time a presiding elder of the M. E. Church, was invited to an honorary seat in the Conference, by a unanimous, rising vote. He thanked the Conference, and took a seat within the bar. He is now the pastor of an independent church.

Orange Scott, J. H. Vincent and E. Smith were appointed a committee on the memorial of J. N. Mars. And R. Bennett, J. Horton and M. Harker were the committee no admitting members of proslavery churches to the communion.

The subject of unstationed preachers elicited an interesting discussion, on the subject of qualification for orders.

Edward Smith urged the importance of requiring the same literary qualifications.

O. Scott read the following answer to a question from the Michigan Conference, on what is valid ordination. "The Wesleyan Discipline requires that a brother to be ordained shall first be elected by an annual conference, and be ordained by the president, or an elder appointed for that purpose by the conference, assisted by one or more elders, either at the conference or during the interval of conference: and any deviation from this regulation we consider disorderly and improper; though ordinations otherwise performed may be valid, provided the person be elected to orders by an annual conference."

L. Woodson thought it better to defer the further consideration of this matter at present, as the subject will be brought before us by the Committee on Revisals.

C. Prindle thought the answer of Br. Scott contrary to the facts, as set forth in the Discipline.

Wm. H. Brewster read the amendment proposed by the New England Annual Conference, showing that the whole matter would be before the Committee on Revisals.

O. Scott thought that all questions from the annual conferences should be answered.

The President thought the answer proposed did not touch the question. Other remarks were made, and the mover read an amended form of the answer, which Br. Sullivan, of Michigan, thought would meet the question.

S. G. Chase concurred in the sentiment.

J. Young thought so too. He thought too much stress was laid on ordination. He regarded it as a mere acknowledgment of ministerial character. It did not confer any thing on a person which he did not inherently possess before. The opposite he regarded a Popish error, and a prevalent error in the Christian Church. He would not go into the argument, but recommended indulgence on this question.

R. Bennett inquired if marriage, performed by a preacher thus ordained, would be valid according to the provisions of civil law, which required that it be performed according to the "order" of the several churches?

J. Horton and O. Scott both remarked, that if this answer was adopted, it would be expressive of our "order," and his objection would be obviated.

R. Bennet thought it did not meet the case, however.

The President made a brief observation, inquiring for the point immediately under consideration.

He was followed by C. Prindle, who submitted that the remark of Br.

Bennett might not be apprehended clearly. It had reference not to ^{laying} ~~was~~ the form to be observed in ordination, but when is ordination valid? This is the point. He thought Br. Young's apprehension of our laying great stress upon ordination, as imparting any virtue to the candidate, was without foundation. He expressed himself quite undecided on the importance of laying on of hands at all.

After other remarks, Lewis Woodson made some very interesting observations on the powerful influence of a correct standard of ministerial character. He thought a fixed arrangement for ordination would be of great advantage to the cause of true religion. The opposite would prepare the way for the admission of men unqualified for the ministry.

O. Scott read an amended form, which he humorously remarked, was, he believed, the seventh amendment, and of course it must be now nearly perfect.

L. C. Matlack recommended the adoption of the answer as inserted above, leaving off the sentence closing the paragraph. Two reasons were offered. First, the last sentence, viz.: "Though ordination otherwise performed may be valid, provided the person be elected to orders by an annual conference," is indefinite. It expresses no opinion, but suggests a bare possibility. Second, if it is definite, it is really objectionable. A growing spirit of laxity and indifference to proper distinction in the community is now too prevalent, especially respecting the ministry. It should not be a common pasture ground, without enclosure. In the answer, you propose to enclose the ministry, but the sentence objected to, was leaving down the bars of the fence, in his opinion.

The President made some remarks on the question before the Conference.

Wm. M. Sullivan, called for a division of the question, leaving the part objected to by Br. Matlack, to be voted on separately.

E. Smith thought that the enclosure was complete, and was better suited to the case than any thing we can devise.

The question was then called for on the first part of the answer. It was voted unanimously.

C. Prindle proposed a substitute for the latter part of the answer, to wit: — "Hereafter, no ordination contrary to this order shall be regarded as valid."

It was, after discussion, adopted as an amendment, and then laid on the table, leaving the answer adopted as suggested by Br. Matlack.

Other questions on the same subject were presented, and declared fully answered by the minute just adopted.

On motion, adjourned.

The discussions have been characterized by much harmony of feeling. We anticipate unity and expedition in the transaction of all our business.

L. C. M.

THIRD DAY.

FRIDAY, OCT. 4.

The Conference commenced as usual, with religious services. The Minutes were read and corrected. Some discussion was called forth respecting the business first in order. George C. Baker was introduced to the Conference, and admitted to an honorary seat in the body. This Br. has been a member of the Erie Conference of the M. E. Church, but is now pastor of an Independent Church. O. G. W. Bingham, the delegate from the Western New York Annual Conference of the Methodist Reformed Church, came forward on invitation of the President, to make his official communication. He remarked —

“I confess that it is with feelings of diffidence and embarrassment, I occupy the position I do before you, on this subject. At the same time it is with pleasure and feelings of much interest that I occupy this position before you. I am aware that the circumstances around me, touching the subject of my communication to this body, involve questions of great and imposing interest. It must be known, that on the subject of a union of our body with the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, there is a difference of opinion between us on the principles of Church Government only. We have availed ourselves of the privilege of appointing a delegation to this body in order to acquaint you with the terms on which we are ready to unite with you. But what we communicate refers only to the Western New York Annual Conference. This subject was brought before us at our late session in Leon, Sept. 18, 1844. Our Conference appointed two to investigate the subject. They found objections to the Discipline, which I shall mention during my remarks.

“It may be well to observe here, that at the time of the secession of the Protestant Methodists from the M. E. Church, previous to the formation of their Discipline, many of our members and ministers left us and joined them. They hoped that such principles would be settled down upon in the final revision of their book of Discipline, as should harmonize with our opinions. Instead of this they found themselves farther off in principle than they had thought or dreamed of. Many of them left and came back to us. Others backslid. Confusion and disaster followed. And our people have learned a lesson. They feel more cautious in making such moves. We are desirous of being safe in this matter, and securing to ourselves a Republican form of Church Government. Our cause of grief was the existence and power of the

Episcopacy in the M. E. Church. And our objections to the Wesleyan Discipline are on the ground of its apparent Episcopal features. 'We don't say it really is Episcopal, but to us it seems to be so. This subject was discussed in our Conference by Br. Brown, Br. Gale, and another preacher of the Wesleyan Connection, who were delegated in our Conference."

The President inquired, "By whose authority were they appointed."

The speaker replied, "I cannot inform you, sir."

President, "I believe they were sent by a quarterly Conference merely."

The speaker proceeded, "That was the case I believe. I will now name the objections we have to the Discipline of your Connection. We object to the 8th article of the Elementary Principles. We think it assumes a superiority of the ministry over the membership, as though there was something inherently superior to other men. To the Articles on Religion we have no objection. The General Rules we approve. The Constitution of the General Conference is agreeable to our minds. To the Annual Conference we have an objection, which might be obviated by an explanation of the Discipline in this case. I think that our plan is inconsistent with the dignified station of ministers. It will be inquired what is meant by full connection? 'What does it refer to? The Church or the Conference?' An explanation of this matter will be satisfactory probably to all our people. To the Judiciary Rule, No. 10, we have an objection. It gives an elder in charge power to arrest an elder, prefer charges and preside over the committee whom he may appoint, to try and suspend the person charged with crime. And although he may challenge any member of the committee, that committee may throw out his challenge and compel him to trial." (Here several introduced a few observations, showing that the actual operation of the rule, as it was understood, would be less objectionable than he supposed. He expressed himself relieved by the explanations of the brethren.) "The form to be observed at the Baptism of infants was objected to, but not seriously. It seems to disallow of the baptism of the children of unbelievers. I hope, however, that this and every other difficulty will be removed by your revisions. We do not design to bribe or induce you to come down to our notions, or in any way compromise your sentiments or principles. But we want to secure to ourselves the privileges of a democratic and republican form of Church Government. But I assure you of the fact that with this secured I am in heart, hand and head, a Wesleyan."

Br. Bingham closed with this remark; and there followed a dialogue between him and others,

Chase. How many ministers and members are there in your Conference?

Bingham. I cannot inform you; though it was reported at our late session.

Ogden. I never saw their Discipline. Have they a General Conference?

Bingham. They have, sir, both Annual and General Conferences?

——. Do your people believe in baptizing infants of unbelieving parents, or only those who are of regenerated persons?

Bingham. I cannot say what their belief is.

Matlack. I thought you said they objected to our form of baptism, because it recognized the children of believing parents only.

Bingham. I ought not to have said that. They were not opposed to it.

Other question were introduced respecting the sentiment and practice of the Methodist Reform Church on Slavery and Temperance.

Said Br. Boucher, "What is their sentiment and position on slavery?"

It was said they have no churches at the South.

E. Smith. "Br. Boucher and I are Southern men, and we know what Southern pro-slavery is. It is bad enough in all conscience; but I am well satisfied that Northern pro-slavery is worse, a great deal."

O. Scott was much pleased with the frankness of the brother in stating his objections, but wished that he had in all cases named the ground of objection. He had not however, and this made it necessary to ask questions. Are the delegates to your General Conferences elected from among the members and ministers indiscriminately, or is the choice limited to a given proportion of both classes? To this Br. Bingham said —

"I supposed you to be familiar with our economy, or I should have been more explicit. Our people desire the Conferences to be purely delegated bodies from the churches. They choose either laymen or ministers.

O. Scott. Then a Conference might be composed of three-fourths laymen or three-fourths ministers. Would they then object to our plan of equalizing the representation of both classes?

Bingham. They dislike our own plan and yours too, —but would not object seriously to yours.

Here Br. Brewster observed—"I have some interest in this matter specially. I attended one of their Conferences at Rehoboth. It was composed of ministers entirely, I believe. I did not feel satisfied with it; nor did they themselves. We talked over it until midnight.

The President. I attended one of their Conferences lately. A half

day was spent in asking and answering questions. This peculiarity, among others was talked of. I learned there, that the Conference might be made up of all ministers or all laymen. Some objected to us, because we allowed laymen to be in our Conference by special provision. But this seemed to be admitted, that whatever is absolutely necessary to an ecclesiastical body must be provided for. We agreed that as the ordination of ministers was the province of the ministry, their presence in the Annual Conference was necessary, as laymen could not ordain. And therefore the certainty of their presence should be provided for.

Bingham. Our usage is better than our Discipline.

President. No doubt of it

Bingham. But such a case has never occurred, as some have supposed possible. Our ratio of representation is one for every twenty members. Usually the minister is chosen and one or more laymen.

Br. Pillow remarked that temperance was not always agreeable to the opponents of slavery. Some English brethren in New York city, united with the Wesleyans on anti-slavery ground, but left us when they knew what were our principles on the subject of temperance.

Matlack. "I would inquire if the Discipline of the Reformers makes temperance a test of church membership?"

Scott. "If they approve our General Rules, of course they would then adopt our test in order to become united with us."

Prindle — proposed to refer the subject of this communication to a special committee.

Brewster thought it would be more appropriately placed in the hands of the Committee on Revisals. This was agreed to, and it was referred.

The Committee on a Book Concern and Periodicals reported in favor of the following items. 1. Securing the transfer of the True Wesleyan and Book Concern, now in the hands of Orange Scott, to the General Conference of the Wesleyan Connection. 2. Establishing but one paper under the control of the Conference. 3. Selecting Cleveland, O., as the location of the paper and Book Concern. 4. Endeavoring to raise \$10,000 to invest as stock. 5. Giving the supervision of the Concern to a committee of 12: six of them to be members of the annual conference within whose bounds it is located, and six laymen from the immediate vicinity.

The report was accepted, and laid on the table, to be taken up tomorrow. While it was under consideration, E. Smith remarked, "We will be better prepared to act after thinking the matter over out of Conference awhile. And indeed I am informed that there will be a propo-

sition made from our Eastern brethren that will astound the Conference and entirely derange this entire plan. There are to be important developments, brethren, I assure you candidly."

Matlack. "Don't alarm us now, Br. Smith!"

President. "You seem to try if you can't scare us!"

Smith. "O no, brethren, I merely wish to let you know that the agitations are not all originated in the West."

These remarks were made in a manner which affected great seriousness, but were, in fact, mere pleasantry. For many of us knew the matter referred to, which was far from being the occasion of any unpleasant apprehensions.

Br. Horton made a remark respecting it, suggesting the probable topic referred to.

"Let me tell Br. Horton," said Smith, "that he can't come within fifty yards of it."

To this Br. Matlack suggested that "It is rather poor compliment to Br. Horton's knowledge of what is going on around him, to say that he don't know of this wonderful affair that is to be developed from the East."

"Well, the reason is, that he has been so long on the way, he may not have heard the news by the last arrival," said he; "and I am not sure but that the affair will have a Northern rather than an Eastern origin." What the topic is will be made known during the discussion to-morrow.

The Committee on Revisals proceeded to make a report. Quite an interesting discussion was brought on respecting the unordained preachers. The committee recommended that the electoral college be made up in part of representatives to be appointed by the unstationed preachers and ministers of the several circuits and stations. It now allows only ministers or ordained men to have such representatives.

To adopt the recommendation or retain the present provision, was the ground of discussion. Some supposed all unordained preachers to be laymen, and were therefore represented by the lay delegation, and eligible to election as representatives of laymen. Others thought them to be of the ministry, and not represented unless they had a voice in selecting the representative from the unstationed ministry, and being themselves eligible to election as delegates. The subject was finally recommitted, and after a few remarks on other matters, the Conference adjourned. When the subject is again introduced, the discussion will be fully reported.

FOURTH DAY. SATURDAY, OCT. 5.

After the usual services, and reading of the journal, the report, of the book committee was taken up.

Br. Scott offered as a substitute, a more lengthy and detailed report, which differed from the first in these particulars. It proposed that only one paper besides the True Wesleyan be established by authority of the General Conference, — and that one to be established West somewhere to be called **THE WESLEYAN OF THE WEST**. Its editor to be appointed by the General Conference, if constitutional; provided that its financial responsibilities be not assumed by us.

For the location of the general Concern, Boston, Mass., was recommended, with depositories at Cincinnati, Pittsburg and Syracuse. The committee having supervision of the Concern to be: the preachers stationed at Boston, Providence, Lowell, and Duxbury, with as many laymen in the vicinity. The editor and agent to be *ex-officio* members of the Book Committee. Five, to constitute a quorum for ordinary business; but in case of removal from office, a majority must be present and vote for it. The stock of ten thousand dollars to be raised in shares of \$100 each, the interest of which is to be paid yearly in books at wholesale prices or in cash, and the principal at farthest in eight years.

Br. Essler inquired, "Why is that substitute introduced?"

Br. Scott answered, "It is more particular and detailed."

E. Smith thought neither explicit enough. But before determining at all on these reports, we must decide two things. First: Will we take the concern on our hands? Second: Shall it be located at Boston or Cleveland? ("Or at New York," said a brother.) "Or at New York," responded Smith.

The first item of the substitute was adopted as an amendment; and agreed to unanimously, and this was, to secure the transfer of the whole concern.

On inquiry as to the debts of the Concern, and its value, Br. Scott remarked, "I shall transfer it free from all debt. The whole value of the stock in books is about \$1500."

The second item, providing for but one church paper, was now taken up, but on motion deferred to determining the question of location. This was the third item. On this brother Scott made the following brief remarks: "I am in favor of Boston for several reasons. *First*. The communication between that city and Albany is direct and uninterrupted during the year. But from New York city to Albany we are embarrassed by the freezing of the river. *Second*. The concern is now at Boston, where rent is cheap; commodious rooms in the very building

now occupied may be obtained, and all expenses less than in New York.

Thrd. We have presses and types now in use, almost if not quite as cheap as we could work our own, if we possessed them. And we are not able now to buy them.

Fourth. Paper is from ten to twenty per cent. cheaper than any where else. And finally the credit of the establishment is now fixed, and whoever is appointed in charge, will find no difficulty to begin with, in the business with paper makers and others. For these reasons, I am in favor of Boston, as the most advantageous location, in our present circumstances.

E. Smith followed. "The liberal heart deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things shall it stand." I desire to be thus influenced and thus sustained. To establish our concern, where it will become necessary to remove it, should we increase rapidly during the next four years, is not devising liberal things. And I am persuaded that such will be the case if we select Cleveland. There can be no doubt, Mr. President, that with the common blessing of Heaven, we shall swell our numbers immensely during the ensuing four years. It will become necessary to have two concerns under the control of the Church, to supply the wants of our people. But in order to secure this success, we must avoid placing upon our Jacob's staff the compass of expediency to guide us in our movements. We must make no compromise with sin. But following the example of ancient Israel, prepare the way of the Lord by digging down the high hills, and leaving the valleys, thus casting up a high way, on which we shall march straight forward in the path of duty.

"Now sir, if the middle of the Connection be selected as the location, there it must remain in all time to come, or be the occasion of great difficulty in future years. But if Boston be selected, we may in four years, if desired, establish another concern in the West. I had thought of a plan, which I may name now as well as at any other time. My plan was, to get up two concerns at this Conferencè. An Eastern and Western one, and let them run races. We would try to beat the Yankees, if we can. (Br. Scott said, 'You can if you will, I have no doubt.') I don't know about it. But we should try hard for it, any how.

"If, sir, the plan proposed is adopted, we could have branches in several places, to and from which conveyance would be easy enough. Say Boston, Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati. These would do pretty well, I think now. But I have one remark further. Cleveland is shut out from some parts of the country, three or four months in the year, in consequence of the obstructions in the canals and lake. From Boston you can reach Buffalo at all seasons of the year direct. And by New

York city, through Philadelphia via Pittsburgh, you could reach the West by the large teams, during the most unfavorable season of the year. And this transportation is almost as cheap as canal freight. Some seasons the Ohio river is open to Cincinnati nearly all the year, and indeed, last year it was not closed more than a week.

"I am not devoid of Conference pride. And when the first report was made, I was up a little to think that the Allegheny Conference was to be the centre of our operations. But the interest of the great work is paramount with me, and I am in favor of Br. Scott's report or substitute.

"And now I will do what I never have done, and ask Br. Scott if I have not made a better speech for Boston than he did."

This was pleasantly answered in the affirmative. A question occupied the President's attention for a few moments, when, on the urgent request of several members, he was induced to take the floor, after calling E. Smith to the chair. A few remarks were made by Lewis Woodson complimentary of the Yankees, but questioning their ability to make Boston the centre of business, however, they might desire it, as it was not so naturally. But he gave way to hear the President's remarks.

The President observed—"I came to this Conference with the fixed determination to get along, if possible, without much debate or strife on any question except compelled there to maintain a good conscience. The question now before us is as well calculated to elicit debate, as any one to be before us at this session. But I should not have felt myself called upon to take any part in this discussion, had not my name been mentioned with a request that I should say something upon it. I do not propose, however, and shall not propose to engage in a struggle for victory. It would be useless. Though a man of some courage, I am not brave enough to spend my strength in a struggle, where the odds are so fearful that success is hopeless. When West and East unite, what can the centre gain by contending. The two extremes have combined their strength to establish the paper and Book Concern in the East. And for what? Is it because that location is best suited to the interests of the whole Church? No, sir! But that another paper and Book Concern may be gotten up with less embarrassment in the West. And a speech with this avowed design is applauded as the better speech in favor of Boston! (Much pleasantry was expressed here.) Now sir, with the East and West, thus at agreement, is there any encouragement for me to attempt a speech on the subject. ('Go on—go on—go ahead,' was heard from various quarters. And he continued his remarks thus—)

"I will notice what was urged by Br. Scott. He assumed first, that living is cheaper in Boston than in New York. ('I know it,' said Br. Scott.) He is a wiser man than I am, for I don't know it. My opinion is, that living is higher. All vegetables are higher priced, and this is true of all flesh! (Laughter.) For we are a nation of flesh eaters. The greater facilities are also urged. Now although there is a railroad from Albany to Boston, yet the travel is not in that direction from the West, but to New York city. The Boston business papers make this complaint. For nine months the river is open to New York, and a railroad is now under way, which, when completed, will be a far better mode of communication than Boston can possibly be. It was argued that Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Cincinnati may all be reached direct from Boston; but it will be borne in mind, that to get to these places you must go through New York city. Every argument on this score is then more in favor of New York than Boston, as it is nearer by two or three hundred miles. (Here E. Smith said, 'I made no speech against New York.') But these arguments were adduced in favor of Boston. And this is the extreme of the East. The jumping-off place of New England, unless you should move it down among the Cape Cod commuters.

Will this extreme location accommodate the centre? Now you may be induced to believe it by smooth stories or any thing else, but it is not so. Of all the religious papers published in New England, I know of no one that circulates in N. York but the True Wesleyan. And if you locate a paper in the extreme East and in the West, you cannot force the circulation of either in the centre. (Br. Scott observed, "we circulate 1000 copies of the paper now in the centre of the work.") That is true; but its circulation is sustained there only with the confident expectation that at this Conference it would be removed nearer the centre of operations. But when you shall have said that the Concern shall be placed in the East in order to secure the establishment of another, West, it will require more resolutions than you have there, to prevent the getting up of another paper. New York is the great centre, by nature. Papers from that city circulate freely in New England, but it is not true that New England papers circulate in New York. New York can accommodate New England better than New England can accommodate New York. I hope you will not be made to believe it is best now to remove East, by any *soft-sayings* about the next four years. This is only a bait held out, a faint glimmering of hope of something better.

I am tired of being urged to act "just this once more." If ever the Concern should be moved, let it be moved now! I have thrown out

these brief hints. I have nothing more to say. I shall not vote, or protest, or complain, or threaten. But I wish to say and do, only in view of a sense of duty to myself, to God, and the world.

Wm. H. Brewster acknowledged himself to be prejudiced in favor of New England. But his feelings had been expressed by Br. Lee, in reference to disposition and motives. He had opinions peculiar to himself, respecting a Book Concern. But as we have voted to have one, I am persuaded that New York is the best place, and I shall vote for New York city. (Br. Scott responded from his place, "So will I," and Br. Matlack also.) And after expressing a renewed assurance of its superiority, he was followed by E. Smith. "My arguments, sir, were just as good for New York as Boston. And I would just as leave have it in New York, and as the black man said, 'a little *leave-er* too!'—(Laughter.) After speaking of it as the centre,—

Lewis Woodson observed, that it is in a commercial point of view truly so.

Others were disposed to think differently, and Judge McKeevery pleasantly remarked, "the brethren don't seem to have their centre in the middle!"

Br. Smith closed by expressing himself clearly and decidedly in favor of New York city, with the prospect of another yet, in the West.

"O yes," said Br. Scott, "in four years' time."

"It may be," said Smith, "that we will before that. But just go on now with this for the present."

C. Prindle declared he had little choice between Boston and New York. He was satisfied that even with the river frozen up, we could reach Albany direct from N. York, by Bridgeport, L. I., and the Housatonic rail road.

J. Horton. "I wish to say a word or two. I am a Yankee, full blooded. (Any body would guess so to look at you, said Br. Prindle, pleasantly.) I possess strong local feelings, and this may perhaps be a weakness. But I am not prepared to admit that Boston is that little, inferior place, some are disposed to make it out. If we have regard to its location on the sea board, it is the centre in fact. And in addition to what has been said by Br. Scott of its advantages, I would suggest, that we have just entered upon the extensive territory of Maine, which presents a promising field for Wesleyanism. We are also in connection with the Weslyans on the other side of the water, by means of steam navigation. We receive European news sooner than any other city. For we have got ahead of you in that, and we intend to keep ahead too. It may be well for me to say that I never heard of the new plan, until Br.

Scott read it this morning. It came upon me as the first announcement of our movement did on Br. Smith,—‘Like a clap of thunder in a clear day. Now among the reasons in favor of Boston is this: that Br. Scott has had the experience of two years in the city, and knows it to be adapted to the best interests of the Connection. And I will put Orange Scott’s experience in matters of business, against any man East or West. Besides, we have a constant line of travel from Albany to Boston. Many Western men come there to do business. They are constantly increasing in number. The cars are coming in filled with travellers daily. A railroad is in process of erection between Boston and Vermont, that will bring the Champlain Conference immediately in connection with Boston. It is the Fitchburg railroad. The business of printing cannot be done better than we have it done in Boston. Our printer is a most excellent man with the press and types. I will put him against any other in the nation. [P. S.—Mr. Printer,—I will record here my testimony, that you manage my MS. to my entire satisfaction. Thank you.

L. C. M.]

“New England, sir, is to America what Scotland is to Europe. We are surrounded by iron walls of prejudice, that we must break down ere we triumph. Standing as we do in the Thermopylæ of the work, with the icebergs of prejudice around us, we ask for the instrument by which we may overcome and prosper. With the great strength now possessed by the centre, and the acknowledged ability of their men, we have no fear of their success! (Much good humor manifest.) But, sir, the healthful condition of the body requires that the circulation be propelled to the remotest extremity.” (“Is not that the reason we find the heart placed near the centre,” asked the President, with a lurking smile in his countenance. The hit was so palpable as to excite a good deal of pleasantry.)

O. Scott again rose and said, “I came to the Conference opposed to the removal of the concern. Hearing two Book Concerns talked of, and believing we could not sustain them, I was in favor of removing the one to a central position. But on thinking it over, I changed my mind. My remarks in favor of Boston, would apply to New York, with a few exceptions. And those might be obviated. (After inquiring of Lee and Smith respecting the price paid by them for their printing, he said that the work might be done as cheap possibly, in New York as in Boston.) But I shall vote for Boston first, and then for New York.”

Br. Scott spoke of its being new to him. I can only say that I went to bed thinking of the subject last night. I awoke this morning at three o’clock, and this plan was in my mind. I rose, lit my lamp and wrote

it out, lest something should escape my mind, and then retired to rest again. Now, although a Yankee, and prejudiced in favor of New England Wesleyanism, I esteem as highly the Wesleyanism of the West. With other remarks he closed.

Br. Chace, of Ohio, would agree to vote for New York. This would harmonize all and accommodate the West, perhaps to their satisfaction.

Lewis Woodson said, "When speaking of the centre, political economists do not refer to the surface or geography of the earth merely. But to the population, money, influence, &c,—that seeks a centre peculiar to itself. We are much indebted to the Yankees, I know. They teach us some excellent lessons, and we thank them. They show us how to take care of the flip-penny-bits, and pennies too. But a Southerner hardly knows what a penny is. I seldom saw one, till I came North. If in trading you should offer a Southern gentleman a penny or pennies in change, many of them would feel insulted." (The speaker was once a slave.)

After speaking of the agreeable circumstances under which he could travel in the West, he remarked, "but when I arrive at New York, if I ask the captain of a Boston boat, 'Sir, where shall I be accommodated on the way,' he will tell me, 'You must stay upon deck all night, and when we take the cars, you must go in the *'Jim Crow!'* But, sir, while I am a man, I will never go to any city that requires of me such degradation as a condition of entrance there. No, sir, much as I wish to see Boston with its interesting localities, and although in the city of New York as I have been, I will not disgrace myself by undergoing the process required. (General approbation.) My dear Br. Horton told us about Maine, with its extent of territory. Yes, sir, the province of Maine, with its forests of pine wood and wide expanse of sandy plains! (Laughter.) But where are the people, the money, the business, that would entitle it to a rivalry with the West, or constitute Boston the centre of business? It is very true that when we want spars, masts or heavy timber, we go to Maine. But who would think of going there to ascertain what is the centre of business operations?"

J. Horton was not willing that Boston and New England should have such a bad name. "The Br. speaks of prejudices in New England against his race and people. That is why we wish the paper, so as to battle effectually with it. But I referred to denominational prejudices. However, we have no more of prejudice against his people than New York. Massachusetts passed a law forbidding such distinctions, in the public conveyances. I believe New York has not, nor yet Ohio. ('We do not need it here. They allow us equal privileges,' said Woodson.

"Besides, the necessity for a law shows how strong and inveterate is the prejudice in Massachusetts.) It was submitted by the President, that this discussion was not strictly in order, though allowed thus far."

J. Horton desired, however, to throw off the aspersions cast upon New England. He would not feel himself worthy of the name of a New Englander if he sat silent. We have now the lead in moral and religious influence. That supremacy we intend to sustain.

L. Woodson: "I meant no aspersion. I would not be guilty of it. My remarks were rather a joke than sober charge of wrong and outrage."

E. Smith: "I wish to be rid of all sectional feeling, and take the motto of Garrison —

'My country is the wide, wide world,
'My countrymen mankind.'

The question was loudly called for. The vote was taken, and New York City was selected as the location of our Church paper and Book Concern, by an almost unanimous vote. The clause limiting it "for the next four years" was then stricken out, and New York made the permanent locality.

The item providing for one Church paper beside the True Wesleyan was taken up. It was moved to recommit.

J. Horton favored immediate action.

Br. McMurdy, of Ohio, wished time to confer with Western brethren. Br. Chace also thought more time needed.

Br. Woodson spoke of Pittsburgh's advantages, and referred to its great trade in iron. (Laughter.) And also expressed his deep interest and sympathy with the colored people of the country. He thought their well being identified with the publication of a paper West, now that the True Wesleyan is located in the East.

C. Prindle thought that according to Br. Woodson's previous remarks, New York should be called the centre, and not the East.

Br. Young thought that in view of the reasons alleged for placing it in New York, which have been endorsed by the action of the Conference, it is now too late to consider the question of having a more Western paper. We are too weak to bear the burden of two papers. Our Yankee friends are not apt to do that thing. They count as they go. So should we. The report is as good as it can be. We need not recommit it. Your discussion about whether you would establish your paper at the East end or West end, or in the middle, reminded me of a controversy at the table about the best way to break an egg shell. Some were for breaking it at one end and some for the other, but for my part it makes little difference whether the egg is broken at the end or in the

middle, so that I get the contents. (Laughter.) That is my mind about the paper and Book Concern.

O. Scott said, "If the design of referring it is to secure a paper on individual responsibility under the patronage of the General Conference, it is unnecessary." For that is now settled. And if it is designed to recommend our assuming the responsibility, I am opposed to it, and so are many others doubtless.

Br. Pegler favored it only to facilitate business. Now we have two reports, — the original and the substitute. Refer both and return the one agreed upon by the Committee.

E. Smith moved its recomittal and the addition of O. Scott to the Committee. Voted.

Committee on Revisals reported. The electoral college is to be composed as heretofore, with the addition of a proviso: "That when there is but one unstationed minister on a circuit or station, he shall be a member of the college of electors." All unstationed ministers are to be honorary members of the annual conference, and if engaged in the pastoral work, as specified in the answer to Ques. 3, Sec. ix., may be received into full connection in the conference.

This was under discussion when the Conference adjourned, to meet at 9 o'clock Monday morning. This is one hour later than usual, in view of the absence of several brethren from the city during the Sabbath, who could not return until after eight o'clock Monday.

The exercises of the Sabbath were deeply interesting. We had a prayer-meeting at half past 5 o'clock, A. M. At 8 o'clock, Br. Essler, of Michigan, preached on — "This is my beloved, and this is my friend."

Br. Lee preached at 10 o'clock, from — "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ." In the afternoon, Br. Horton preached on faith, from — "Faith without works is dead." And at 7 P. M., Edward Smith preached on "Preparing the Lord's way." His illustrations were most forcible and convincing, especially when specifying the mountain obstacles to be removed.

Beside these services in the Wesleyan chapel, Br. Lee preached for the Baptists at two o'clock, P. M. At the Bethel church, Br. Brewster preached at ten A. M., and Br. Pegler at two P. M. Br. Scott spent the Sabbath and preached at Chagrin Falls, about sixteen miles distant. Other appointments also were supplied by our brethren out of the city.

We have public service in our Chapel every evening. The congregations are very good, and very attentive.

This evening we have an abolition meeting to be addressed by Br. Smith, and perhaps others.

FIFTH DAY.

MONDAY, OCT. 7.

Commenced with religious exercises at nine o' clock.

Report on Revisals again introduced the subject of unstationed ministers.

Lewis Woodson proposed that they have a vote in the election of all persons to elder's orders.

Br. Scott inquired, "Is any thing contemplated but election to orders, or does it propose to give them a vote on receiving men into the stationed ministry?"

Woodson. "I do not see the distinction now."

President gave a word of explanation.

Chace thought it not in order, nor of sufficient importance if in order.

Lewis Woodson thought it was of importance, and indeed it was; he thought it most essential to the interests of the ministry.

O. Scott. "If we agree to allow them to vote in some cases, they could with pertinency ask,— 'Why may we not vote on all questions?' Though all know that I am not opposed even to that, as all will recollect who heard my remarks at Utica. But it seems to me better to leave it without exceptions or qualifications."

E. Smith remarked at some length on the relation of unstationed ministers. Objections were urged by him to the amendment because it proposes to give every question respecting the ministry into the hands of the unstationed ministers. This would give the appointment of pastors, not to the people's representatives and the pastors, but to those who have no common sympathies with either. But I am in favor of allowing them to vote on the admission of persons to the ministry, or to elder's orders, which is the same thing.

L. Woodson said, "Of course I am interested, and so are others who have spoken with me on this subject. I desire it, in order to unite the opposite parties. Though we ought not to have parties. Indeed, I do not think we have any ministers who have no common sympathies with pastors and people."

Judge McKeever. "What is the relation of those ministers who perform half pastoral labor? Do they come up as members of the Conference, independent of the stationing committee?"

President explained that their arrangement with the church or churches they serve, would not be deranged by the stationing committee.

Br. Boucher. "Did I undersand the Chair to say that the Conference had power to put such a man to another station?"

The President made some explanatory remarks.

E. Smith. "The annual Conference is not compelled to receive any

man: but if they do, they approve the arrangement. So that the stationing committee don't have him in their hands, as he was stationed by the Conference when they received him."

The vote was taken, and the amendment of Br. Woodson was lost. Lyndon King, objected to the phrase about invading the limits of stationed ministers, or any charge already supplied. He moved to strike out. Motion lost.

Voted, to adopt the item as reported.

President remarked on the necessity of despatch. He thought business must remain unfinished unless we are more expeditious. He gave various advices appropriate to the better performance of our business.

L. C. Matlack moved that the Conference fix on Thursday, 10th inst., as the time of final adjournment.

O. Scott suggested Tuesday, 15th inst. But it was withdrawn after some conversation.

Br. Pillow moved the appointment of a committee on the expense of delegates. Wm. H. Pillow, J. Horton and Br. Fritcher were appointed.

Br. Horton inquired if the committee were authorized to draw upon any fund?

"Yes," said Br. Smith, "if you can find any."

"You may claim all the funds you can get hold of honestly," said the President.

Committee on Revisals reported farther, various items of ordinary interest. It was proposed among other things, to specify once a quarter, respecting the duty of preachers visiting the classes. It was not adopted, as we would not tolerate such a limited attention to class-meetings, on the part of preachers.

Eligibility to orders was reported to be preaching three years, and passing a satisfactory examination on the course of study. This applies to stationed and unstationed ministers. It was unanimously adopted.

The President presented a petition, praying for action on the question of allowing our people being attached to secret oath-bound societies.

It was from the Orleans circuit, N. Y. Conference, signed by 39 persons.

The committee on admitting to our communion tables members of pro-slavery churches, reported through their chairman, Br. Horton. After presenting the views of the committee, the report closed with the following resolution:—

Resolved, That while we are if possible more than ever convinced of the rightfulness of our position as a Connection, in adopting and maintaining the principle of non-fellowship with slaveholders, and while we

admit that there are many professed Christians so pro-slavery in character that they ought not to be admitted to fellowship in our churches, nevertheless, we regard it as a matter which requires no further legislative action than that which is already provided for in our excellent Discipline.

On this E. Smith observed, "I am prepared to vote for the report. But there is one point that is not introduced there, of some importance to the issue. Can Wesleyans consistently receive the sacrament in a pro-slavery church? That is the point. We have left pro-slavery churches because we cannot fellowship them. Now if we go back and take from them the sacrament, we tender the most emphatic expression of our Christian fellowship. It is clearly a departure from the fundamental principle of our organization. This suggests a nice question, however. If it is wrong to fellowship a pro-slavery church thus ourselves, can it be right to fellowship any who do this wrong act, by receiving them to our communion table? I take the ground that if a Wesleyan Methodist fellowships a pro-slavery church thus, he ought to be disciplined. And yet it is right to admit members of a pro-slavery church to our communion. This may appear to be contradictory. But a few remarks will present my reasons for this sentiment.

There is a principle involved in the qualification for admission to the communion table in the various denominations, that they, and perhaps some of us overlook. A fitness for the communion in Charleston, S. C. gives a right to it any where throughout the country, in the same denomination. Hence, if I fellowship a pro-slavery church by communing with them, I fellowship all who commune there. I recognize the Christian character of that church, and its authority as a church of God. This is decidedly wrong. But if an individual comes to us to receive the sacrament, we only fellowship him as an individual Christian. That person fellowships our whole Church. We fellowship him alone. I believe it to be a fixed principle of Wesleyanism not to commune with pro-slavery churches."

Br. Essler, of Michigan, desired to make a brief remark. He was unwilling to be identified with the sentiments of the last speaker, or in any way endorse the last remark he had made.

The President remarked that "no brother on this floor is responsible for Br. Smith's speech."

"Yet," continued Br. Essler, "if there is a reporter here for other papers, that last remark will be set forth as the undisputed sentiment of Wesleyans respecting other churches, unless disclaimed by us. Now I do not believe it." ("Amen!" said Br. Brewster.)

The resolution and report were adopted.

C. Prindle presented a preamble and resolutions in favor of dividing the Wesleyan Connection into an Eastern and Western General Conference. The question to be submitted to the various annual Conference hereafter. He sustained his proposition by saying, — "The sentiments here expressed, are the honest, sober convictions of my mind, that I have cherished for at least nine years past. I firmly believe their truth to be unquestionable. And the advocacy of these sentiments while a member of the M. E. Church, secured to me more dis-favor than all other causes combined.

"They are not opinions which I have adopted hastily, nor from any impulse or influence realized since our organization. The preamble simply expresses my sentiments as nearly as they can be in a few words. I have several reasons for my desire for a division. First the supervision of so vast a territory is inconvenient and really difficult. Our people are dispersed over an area 2000 miles in extent. The distance to travel, the time occupied, and the expense incurred, all unite to prevent the attendance of many who are appointed to this General Conference. The same difficulty will be realized in all time to come, especially among the laymen, who will not consent to neglect their business for so long a time. And this will prevent the developement of an important principle in our organization.

"There is every reason to believe that the West will have the preponderance soon, if they have it not now. And many of us will be going that way this year, and others talk of it next year. ["Amen. Come on," said Br. Chase, of Ohio.] And we think the present the best time to divide. We are now in perfect harmony. We meet, and shall part in peace. No expulsive influence is felt; no sectional feelings divide us; and if realized, it will be merely a matter of convenience. And I believe we would secure greater efficiency by being two Conferences instead of one. I think the same principle which is true in temporal concerns will hold good in ecclesiastical matters. It is this: when a man's business extends itself beyond his control or supervision, he is embarrassed, and on the verge of bankruptcy.

"Finally, I believe there was nothing in the pure ages of the Church that was anything like our organization, as to extent of territory embraced. Other remarks will be given when it is called up for further deliberation. For the present I close."

His proposition was for the present laid on the table.

It was voted to request Br. E. Smith to prepare his tract, "The bible against Slavery," for publication by the Book Concern.

Br. McMurdy suggested the propriety of giving historical *data* for his historical statements.

Br. Smith remarked, that his first edition "was written on board steam-boats, and away from my library. If another edition is desired, I will do as I intended to do some of these days: i. e., append notes to the pamphlet, giving authorities for all my statements."

On motion of C. Prindle, it was voted, that at the opening of the session this afternoon, the presidents of the conferences were requested to give a statement of the work in their respective conferences.

Adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The first business after the opening was, to hear from the different conferences. The statements were of lively interest, and showed a remarkable increase in numbers, strength, and influence for good. I give the following brief of the brethren's remarks.

Allegheny Conference. E. Smith. This conference has doubled its membership and stationed this year 45 preachers. The membership numbers 2500.

Miami Conference. P. A. Ogden. In 1843 this conference numbered 500 in the membership. This year it reports 2400: having more than quadrupled in one year. It stationed 42 preachers.

Michigan Conference. Wm. M. Sullivan. [The President being absent.] This conference was organized in 1841, previous to the Eastern secession, and united with the Wesleyans at Utica. It stations 22 preachers. The membership is 1300.

New England Conference. J. Horton. There are 36 preachers stationed, and 2400 members on the various circuits and stations.

Champlain Conference. C. Prindle. In 1843 they had 1000, now 2500 members. Within a few months, more than 300 were added by conversion.

New York Conference. L. Lee. At the first session of this conference, four months since, the membership was 3500. They have 60 stationed preachers.

Including preachers, stationed and unstationed, supposing their numbers equal, the Connection is in all 15,000 members.

The proposition of Br. Prindle was now taken up for consideration. He read it, specifying the proposed division line as a "blank" yet to be filled.

Br. Scott hoped it would all become a *blank* by the action of this conference, and then proceeded to oppose it for various reasons. Among them was, the chilling influence upon the Connection. He would prefer that two entire annual conferences should be annihilated. It would be a smaller loss, and less injurious. The prejudices of our members

are all in favor of a united communication. The proposition only showed the liability of the best minds and noblest hearts to run into extremes. It opposes large organizations. But we are small. It deprecates a development of power and undue influence. Well, when we have tried it four years, we will see if a 'little horn,' or any thing like Episcopacy shows itself, and put it down. Or if we deem it convenient to divide, we will be able to start two organizations, as strong as the one is now, if not stronger. Now, a division will make it necessary to have a double expense incurred on every score. Br. Scott regretted his absence when it was introduced, as he did not hear, and did not know the reasons for proposing it. "But," said he, "the embarrassment in the way of assembling from a distance cannot be a reason; for in five days we can reach a central point from the extremities of the nation. And if we are able to reach here now, paying our own expenses, we can more easily accomplish it when our people become able to pay our expenses for us. The plan is essentially Congregational. If we adopt this, we may as well go for Congregationalism throughout, and every man take care of himself, preach the gospel, and get to heaven on his own hook.

Br. Essler suggested that the mover be kindly requested to withdraw. But Br. Prindle would not yield "even to so polite an invitation," he said.

Br. Brewster. "I have some remarks to offer, and I embrace this opportunity, for I may not get another. I do not see the evil of division. The plan for a division is merely prospective; and I am in favor of it, if it was immediate. I want this conference to say just that to all around and to say it now. It won't harm us to say so." He thought it would prevent a result to which all denominations arrive, that is, a quarrel and violent rupture. The absence of the laymen — the clerical character of the Conference necessarily — Eastern and Western peculiarities or prejudices were referred to as arguments against the union of so vast an extent of territory. He closed with declaring he should be extremely happy if the plan should be adopted, but remarked pleasantly, "I don't believe it will however. (Laughter.) But it may by and by be more favored."

E. Smith said he had been trying to form an enlightened opinion, since in private conversation he first heard of their plan. But he was as the black man said, "A kind o' sorter and not a kind o' sorter," in its favor. (Chace. "I hope you are more not a kind o' sorter.") And I am more convinced than not convinced. He proceeded to disclaim the influence for evil that some feared and dwelt upon the wants of the West, and their ability to have another paper and Book Concern, and

sustain the one at New York too. The competition would occasion a healthful rivalry. He however was not strenuous, and argued a little on both sides.

Br. Chace, of Ohio, remonstrated warmly against the thought of separating, even for convenience. He should regret it exceedingly, if agreed upon. For we should then no longer be identified as one band of brethren.

C. Prindle advocated the plan "less with the hope of success than with a design to bring the subject before your minds for consideration." Having reported his remarks at length, when introducing it, I shall pass them briefly here.

Judge McKeever argued that the itinerant and missionary character of our Church — of Methodism — would be seriously impaired by recognizing the principle of that plan. It was essentially Congregationalism. This he argued with ability.

J. Horton deprecated the consequences of limiting either section to a part of the country. He showed the relation of our contemplated Book Concern to the Church — its inability to harm her interests — and the real advantages of union; especially in view of the influences combined against us.

Br. Boucher urged the importance of union in sustaining the itinerant features of the Connection. He dreaded separation.

H. McKee opposed division. "We have not yet fairly defined our position. And ere we finish our Book of Discipline, shall we separate? I hope not. We have a great union against us. We should maintain the strength of union on our side also."

Lewis Woodson opposed the plan. Speaking of the power of the M. E. Church, whose whole influence is against us he said, "A presiding elder once said to me, 'If we go against the elevation of your people in this country, it cannot be accomplished. Do you know our power?' "No sir," I said, "Well," said he, "from the Bishop's chamber in New York, we can touch the head of every Methodist in the nation. through presiding elders, preachers and class-leaders, all of whom are in a direct line connected with the Bishops by the appointing power. Do you see our power?" said he. "I saw it and really trembled." The necessity of union was then urged most ardently, and the desire expressed that we yet might meet in one General Conference in old Kentucky or Virginia, and hear the glad shouts of the ransomed blacks, who even now know the names of Scott, Prindle, and others as their faithful friends.

Br. Swift, of Michigan, remonstrated with much feeling and effort

against separation. He told the deep thrilling interest which caused their hearts to bound within them, when in Michigan they heard of Wesleyanism in the East. And they would not consent to a separation on any consideration. But I have no fear, it cannot prevail.

A general desire was expressed to hear the President, who yielded reluctantly to take the floor. He remarked —

“Did I believe it was possible that the proposition should prevail, all reluctance would be removed, and I should speak — and speak forth the contents of my head and heart and soul! It has been argued that its influence would be dangerous, from the history of other great organizations. But they were carried on under different circumstances, and controlled by other influences. Clerical authority was supreme. With us laymen may control. The allusion to the early church goes as much against Annual Conferences as the union of this General Conference. One feared the influence of the Book Concern. But the example he cited was a case where the establishment was in the hands of ministers under the control of a concentration of Episcopal power. It is altogether different under the new dispensation. Br. Prindle said that two could be set up as easily as one. (Prindle. I said that two could be sustained. Br. Smith said two could be sustained as easy as one. I didn't know but it could.) Thank you. Then I have you both. (Smith: I don't know that I said that exactly. I said we could get more for two than one.) Very well. Either way will help my argument. Let us hold together and have both!

“As to the laity who are not here, I am sorry for their absence. But let me assure this Conference, that if they had thought such a plan would be proposed here, they would have been present to a man. From the cold borders of the lakes, and all along the eastern extremities of New England, they would have come leaping from every rocky cliff, to remonstrate and vote against division.”

After other remarks, the President closed by saying, “The eyes of the slave and the slave's friends are upon us. Our union is their only hope. They contemplate it as the star of hope. Blot it out, and the wail of their poor broken hearts will come up from all the land of oppression, in reproachful accents, saluting our ears.”

The vote was now taken, and 3 voted in favor of Br. Prindle's proposition and 32 against it. So we are one and invisible.

After this the Conference adjourned.

SIXTH DAY.

TUESDAY, OCT. 8.

The Conference opened as usual. The minutes were read and amended.

The President explained about a decision respecting Br. Young. He supposed he had injured his feelings, through misapprehension.

Br. Young disclaimed any such feeling, and complimented the Conference on their generosity and good feeling towards the laymen generally.

Committee on Books and Periodicals continued their report: embracing, among other items, the per centage on books — appointment of one editor and agent — the committee of the Concern to be: the preachers stationed at New York, Philadelphia, Albany, and Troy, two unstationed ministers at New York, and an equal number of laymen in the city of New York — the editor and agent to be members — seven constituting a quorum — the Juvenile Wesleyan to be resumed May next, if encouraged.

This was largely discussed, and many things were said in its favor. And it was voted to resume it as soon as possible after the General Conference.

O. Scott presented a motion to appoint a committee to secure the transfer of the paper and Book Concern, and also appoint an editor and an agent for the Concern.

They were appointed by nomination at large, and election *viva voce*. They are the following. J. Horton, Wm. Blakemore, Wm. H. Pillow, Seth Sprague, Jr., Leonard Huntress.

They now proceeded to elect a Book Agent. On the first balloting, it was ascertained that thirty-four votes were cast. And ORANGE SCOTT had thirty-two votes.

The ballot for Editor resulted in the choice of LUTHER LEE, by 26 out of 37 votes.

J. W. Walker offered a resolution in favor of instructing the Committee on Revisals to report a rule of discipline, prohibiting our members from being united with any secret, oath-bound societies in any respect.

O. Scott moved to amend by striking out "prohibit," and inserting "advise."

Br. Young called attention to the point, that if it be a sin to take such an oath, or be associated with societies of that kind, we cannot adopt advice for prohibition. He argued that it was an oath to do we know not what. The circumstances and associations were referred to, as most contradictory and inconsistent with Christian character. The sel-

fishness of Masonry was dwelt upon at some length. He thought consistency demanded that we should go against this as well as slavery.

O. Scott wished to withdraw his amendment, and substitute a motion proposed by Br. Smith at the Utica Convention.

E. Smith. "It won't do now."

After reading it, the speaker sat down.

E. Smith opposed the substitute. Not sure that it was the same. He would approach the subject calmly. He observed that he was instructed to go for a rule of discipline just such as the first resolution proposed. Forty-four of his conference voted for, and none against it. Memorials have been presented from within the bounds of the New York and Champlain Conferences. He deprecated the position in which he was placed, on this question, by the editor of the True Wesleyan and its correspondents. But it had secured to him a more extensive knowledge of facts on this subject than any other man on this floor. What the Masonic oaths are, we may know from the testimony of the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island, under oath. If desired, I can produce them, from the lowest to the highest order. They swear their life away at every step they take. On this I join issue.

The testimony in the case of the New York examinations, in the courts about Morgan, were cited to show that Masons went to jail rather than violate their masonic obligation. Shall this merely be advised against? But if persisted in, what is the penalty? He knew the embarrassment of his position in the Conference, for fearful odds were against him. But nine-tenths of the Wesleyan Connection West are in favor of my sentiments. Thus sustained, I plant myself, unmoved by any fear. After quoting the testimony of a Methodist preacher, he cited the testimony of one who belonged to a lodge in New England, and is now a member of the Wesleyan Church, who related to him the following incident. During the exhibition of Mr. Allen, in New England, showing the ceremonies of masonry, a person who had been expelled from the lodge for drunkenness, said his representations were true. The lodge devised a plan to have him made drunk, decoyed to a dangerous ravine, thrown into the river, and have the coroner's jury find a verdict of death by drunkenness. And this all occurred just as they planned. After dwelling at some length on the subject, the speaker concluded by saying,

"Now, we only ask you to prohibit men from becoming masons, and provide further, that those who do belong, refrain from attendance upon the meetings and processions of lodges. This is what our brethren do now for themselves. And why will they not yield to this?" Other remarks were offered, and Br. Smith was followed by

Br. McMurdy, who disclaimed personal feeling. He was willing to yield to those whose consciences prompted them to act in this matter for with him it was not matter of conscience to attend lodges. But he could go not quite as far Br. Walker's resolution went. Not because it was personally offensive, but from its being more than my constituents will allow. This would be unjust, as in fact it would establish a new test of membership without submitting it to the churches of the Connection to speak their agreement through the annual conferences. He admitted masonry had persecuted others. But persecution was not essential to masonry : it was only accidental. With other remarks, respecting his past fears of Br. Smith's designs, and earnest desires for directing our energies against all sin, the speaker closed.

Br. Matlack thought the resolution was in fact a test of membership, and must be carried down to the annual conferences.

Br. Scott, among other interesting remarks, observed, that "the oath of masonry was understood, and explained, to involved nothing which would violate the duty we owe to God and man. And if anything should be required contrary to these duties, masons are absolved from their obligation.

Br. Woodson asked Br. Scott to repeat that remark. He had stated the same thing on the authority of a gentleman from Scotland, belonging to a masonic lodge ; but it was denied by many. I am glad to have it on your authority. Our brethren have confidence in your testimony, and I am glad to hear it.

Br. Brewster confessed himself deeply interested. The conscience of others are interested beside anti-masons. Good men, of undoubted Christian character, are united with these societies. He was unwilling to have it passed, for he should leave the Conference with feelings of the deepest pain. With many other interesting remarks, he closed.

Br. Essler thought that the resolution and substitute were both ultra radical. The adoption of either would be suicidal to the interests of the Church.

Br. Walker, of Alleghany, was opposed to secret, oath-bound societies, on the ground that any such associations were in themselves wrong independent of the oath or the persecutions they authorised. Jesus Christ has given us the plan of the only lawful beneficial society, with every direction for the management of its affairs. He gave way for an adjournment.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Br. Walker gave way, though he had the floor, to a motion, laying his resolution on the table, to take up a substitute prepared by Br. Prindle. It reads,

"Secret Oath-bound Societies."

"Question. Have we any directions to give respecting secret oath-bound societies?"

"Answer. We will on no account tolerate our ministers and members in joining secrets oath-bound societies, or holding fellowship with them, as in the judgment of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, it is inconsistent with our duties to God and Christianity to hold such connections."

This was adopted by a vote of 22 affirmative, and 14 negative. A difference of opinion was entertained and expressed, on the character of the resolution : some regarding it as mandatory, others advisory. It was not explained.

The meeting of the next General Conference was determined upon. It will be held in the city of New York, on the first Wednesday in October, 1848.

The Committee on Revisals reported an addition to the fourth judiciary rule, specifying the privileges granted to the accused. Also to the eight judiciary rule, providing that some one else shall preside in the trial of a church member, when the pastor prefers the charges.

The vote on Br. Prindle's resolution was recorded by yeas and nays at the request of a brother, by special vote of the Conference.

Voted to instruct the Committee on Revisals to report an article on Holiness, to be added to the Articles of Religion, after being passed upon by the annual conferences.

Br. Scott moved to reconsider the vote on Br. Prindle's resolution, which was carried, after some discussion. He then offered an amendment, submitting a general rule in the language of Br. Walker's resolution of the morning. After being discussed some time, it was withdrawn, and Br. Prindle's moved again, with an appendage, submitting it to the annual conferences for confirmation. This was warmly discussed until the hour of adjournment. Br. Smith was on the floor when we adjourned.

SEVENTH DAY.

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 9.

Conference opened as usual. The amendment of Br. Scott was the subject under consideration.

Br. Smith went into a history of the anti-masonic question, as connected, with the Wesleyan Connection and showed the obligation he was under, from conscientious views and special instructions, to press a rule of discipline. The subject was fully presented before the Conference by the speaker, who closed by an assurance that nothing more would be

asked, and nothing less will be received by us than what you voted yesterday.

Br. Essler inquired if secret societies not oath-bound would be included?

Br. Smith said it did not reach their case, but only those who enter secret societies, and bind themselves by oath to keep the secrets of the fraternity.

Br. Horton cited the case of engravers employed by calico printers, under oath to keep the secrets of their employers.

Br. Smith said it was not a case coming under the rule.

Br. Pillow cited the case of Rechabites and Sons of Temperance.

Br. Smith said he was unadvised of their character. It was a new case. He was not advised on that matter. One thing he would say. "Masons come under this rule, and I *think* Odd Fellows do. Of these others I know nothing. I did not know that there were any such beings in the world." With other remarks, submitting the point to be decided he closed.

The motion to adopt the amended resolution was laid on the table in order to reconsider the vote adopting the amendment.

On motion to reconsider, Br. Scott occupied some time in explaining the connection of this question with the Wesleyan Connection, and its present position before the Conference. He argued at length in favor of the amendment, submitting the question to the annual conference and the next General Conference, if it be the sense of the Connection, establishing it as a test of membership. The absence of the Eastern and Northern membership was urged as a reason for deferring final action now.

Other remarks were made by different brethren, and the amendment was laid on the table, and the original resolution was adopted.

Br. Wheelock, from Wisconsin, was allowed an opportunity to represent the condition and prospects of Wesleyanism in his region.

Br. Swift, of Michigan, was excused from attendance, in view of business engagements that could not be deferred.

The questions and propositions of the Miami Annual Conference were taken up. They are,

1. Can a deacon from another church exercise the duties of his office in our Connection? Referred to Committee on Revisals.

2. To authorize the election of the delegates by the churches, instead of the quarterly conferences. Referred to Committee on Revisals.

3. Will we admit in our church unbaptized persons?

4. Will we express an opinion on the use of slave-labor produce? Referred to a special committee, — L. C. Matlack J. Boucher, S. H. Chace.

5. Can a Wesleyan Church, without the consent of its own conference become united to an adjacent conference? Referred to Committee on Journals,

6. Can a Wesleyan preacher become connected with a neighboring conference without the consent of his conference?

7. Can a president recognize as a Wesleyan Church, one within the bounds of another conference, without the consent of its own conference or the president of said conference?

8. Is it constitutional for an annual conference to accept any church into the Connection without an approval of its character by a quarterly conference?

9. Is it constitutional for an annual conference to receive a church entirely out its limits, contrary to the expressed wishes of the conference to which it pertains? Questions 5, 6, 7, 8, were referred to Committee on Journals.

Committee on Sabbath Schools reported resolutions, which were adopted as follows:

1. It is the duty of all our ministers, by their example and precept, to prevent as far as possible their people from light and worldly conversation, and from visiting, or receiving formal visits from their friends on the Sabbath day.

2. That we urge upon our people regular attendance on the preaching of the word, Sabbath schools, and Bible classes, on the Sabbath.

3. That we discourage the transporting of the mail, taking out of the post-office papers and letters on the Sabbath, or filling any office which requires the violation of the Holy Scriptures.

4. We advise and recommend to all our ministers, the importance of bringing this subject as often as may be consistent with other ministerial duties, before the several congregations of which they may be pastors.

On motion of E. Smith, the following was added.

Resolved, That we will not tolerate any of our people in becoming stockholders in Sabbath breaking companies or corporations.

The Conference then adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

After opening, the Committee on Peace reported as follows.

The duty of Christians on the subject of Peace.

Christian duty can only be determined by an appeal to the law and to the testimony. Other standards are assumed however by many. The right to decide our duty by the circumstances of the case, or the supposed results of action, has been argued by learned and wise men. The consequence is, the jurisdiction of actions which debase and dis-

troy mankind, and dishonor God. Among these wicked acts, is the practice of war.

Duty on this question is clearly set forth in the laws of Christianity, as the following extracts will show. "Love your enemies. Bless them that curse you. Do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use and persecute you. See that none render evil for evil to any man. Recompense to no man evil for evil, but overcome evil with good. Lay aside all malice. Be gentle, showing all meekness to all men. But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your father forgive you. Forgive, if ye have aught against any. God hath called us to peace. Live in peace."

It need only be observed, on these provisions of Christian law, that the observance of them would prevent, not only the practice of offensive and defensive war, but it would prevent those dispositions of the mind and those customs which tend to foster and perpetuate the war spirit. [And such is our opinion of Christian character, that we believe the practice of war in any of its forms, or those customs which tend to foster and perpetuate the war spirit, should disqualify any person for membership in the Christian Church.]

L. C. MATLACK,
J. W. WALKER,
C. WOODRUFF.

After a spirited discussion of a few minutes, which promised to be quite protracted, the debate was closed by an agreement to drop off the sentence in brackets.

The Committee on Revisals continued their report. The items are not reported. They will be discovered by comparing the new and old editions of the Discipline.

The following were appointed the Book Committee, to have the supervision of the Book Concern at New York until the next session of the New York Conference. The ministers are, O. Scott, L. Lee, D. Harris, J. Maltby, A. Moran, S. Hoes, M. Bates, L. C. Matlack. The laymen are, Wm. H. Pillow, Daniel H. Sands, Thomas Jackson, ——— Boone, ——— Stillman, A. Skiddy.

The Conference adjourned.

EIGHTH DAY. THURSDAY, OCT. 10.

After the opening of the Conference, Br. Matlack offered the following, which was adopted without debate by a unanimous vote.

Whereas opposite opinions are entertained on the power of the General Conference, as specified in the restrictive rule, therefore,

Resolved, That the restrictive rule shall be amended by adding, " nor shall they adopt any rule which establishes a new test of membership." Nevertheless, the final adoption of this amendment shall be submitted to all the yearly conferences, and become a law when approved by two-thirds of the whole number of votes given in the yearly conferences.

Resolved, That all the yearly conferences be required to act at their next session, upon every amendment to the restrictive rule, whether it emanate from the General or a yearly conference.

The Committee on Books, &c., reported.

Br. Scott read a document on the Book Concern, which will be found in the Discipline to be issued. Among other items not before recommended, the editing of the Juvenile Wesleyan was made the duty of the Editor of the Wesleyan organ — Br. Lee. This was agreed upon in order to greater economy.

The committee on using the produce of slave labor, reported as follows :

It is obligatory upon all true Christians, that they should, in every possible way, withhold their support and countenance from the system of slavery. This course of action is more especially to be expected from those who have, by withdrawing from church fellowship with slaveholders, exhibited their abhorrence of slavery ; and it becomes a serious question, that deserves particular attention, whether we can knowingly use the produce of slave labor, where it can be avoided, without incurring guilt in the sight of God. Without assuming to determine this question, we unite in recommending, as our opinion on the practical question involved, the following resolution.

Resolved, That we advise all our members and ministers to refrain from the use of slave-labor produce, and to give special encouragement to every effort to supply the market with products of the labor of free-men.

On motion of Br. Horton, it was voted, that, Whereas William A. Smith, D. D., of Virginia, has challenged Doct. Bond, of New York, to a public debate on the subject of slavery, therefore,

Resolved, That in case Doct. Bond shall decline to accept said challenge, Rev. L. Lee be requested to accept said challenge at his earliest convenience.

Adopted by a unanimous vote, with expressions of strong approbation.

The Committee on Missions reported. It will be published hereafter.

Br. Scott suggested the propriety of publishing the report of the proceedings of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as reported in the True Wesleyan.

A brief and spirited discussion occurred on this proposition. It was finally voted to recommend such publication.

The Committee on Temperance reported. It was, after a slight amendment, adopted.

On Temperance.

The committee on Temperance beg leave to report the following.

Holding as we do a high position in the Church, and in the world, on the subject of Temperance, we feel ourselves called upon again to record our testimony on this important matter. We lament to learn, that to some extent, in some sections of the country, intemperance still prevails, and that numbers who once enjoyed the benefits arising from temperate habits, have again relapsed into their former state of wretchedness and degradation. We also observe with pain, that many of the churches of this land, in some parts of the country, have sunk into a state of stoical indifference on this great question ; and viewing ourselves not only as a *Reformed*, but as a *Reforming* body, therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That we will not tolerate the manufacturing, buying, or selling or using intoxicating liquors, unless for mechanical, chemical, or medicinal purposes.

2. *Resolved*, That we urge our ministers and members to engage more arduously in the advocacy and spread of temperance principles.

3. *Resolved*, That we recommend our people to refrain as far as possible from encouraging and supporting those establishments, commonly known as hotels, &c., based on anti-temperance principles.

4. *Resolved*, That we recommend all our ministers and members to abstain from *all useless, needless* and hurtful indulgences, that their example may become more salutary, and that they may have more means to employ in useful and benevolent enterprises.

J. W. WALKER.

W. H. BREWSTER.

P. A. OGDEN.

Voted, To publish the reports of the last General Conference of the M. E. Church, as reported in the True Wesleyan; also, the review of said Conference by Smith and Lee.

Br. Horton presented the following protest.

Protest of the Minority.

The minority in the vote taken on this subject, (secret oath-bound societies,) request to be permitted to enter their protest against the proceedings of the Conference in the case, for the following among other reasons.

1. We regard the act as not strictly constitutional ; (having, it is believ-

ed, the nature of the general rules, (inasmuch as it was passed without the concurrence of the several Annual Conferences, as provided for in such cases, and by consequence is null and void.

2. It will be regarded as establishing a new test of membership to the churches, such as the Holy Scriptures do not authorize. To say the least, the principle upon which the act proceeds, is of doubtful character, namely, that all secret, pledged or oath-bound associations are morally wrong and therefore sinful.

3. We protest against it as establishing a precedent in the action of the Conference, pregnant with the most disastrous consequences to the Connection. If its charter may be violated at one time, it may at another.

4. We regard it as infringing upon the rights of Annual Conferences and of individual societies; and that too, when one of the principal designs contemplated in the origination of our Connection, was to secure to these rights the utmost possible permanency.

Had the act of the Conference simply *advised* — or in the *strongest possible manner recommended*, we should have cheerfully concurred, and in it rejoiced. But it represents that as an intolerable evil, of which, to say the least, there is the strongest reason to doubt. Signed by

J. Horton, O. Scott, J. Boucher, Wm. H. Pillow, P. A. Ogden, Wm. P. Essler, G. Pegler, H. McKee, Wm. H. Brewster, R. Brandriff, R. McMurdy.

On the above it may be proper to suggest two things. The unanimous vote of the General Conference on the motion of Mr. Matlack respecting the restrictive rule, plainly sets forth the fact that the constitution of the church, as it is now, is not violated by the General Conference in adopting tests of membership even. And the General Conference unanimously desire, that the constitution should be altered so as to forbid the General Conference from exercising such authority. In the second place, the action of the General Conference is misapprehended by the protest. It did not say any thing like this: "All secret, pledged or oath-bound associations, are morally wrong and therefore sinful." The language of the resolution, and the explanations given, as reported, explicitly set forth this sentiment, only with reference to fraternities, which are *secret and oath-bound*! The main speaker in advocacy of the resolution applied it distinctly to Freemasonry only. He *thought* the Odd Fellows were included, but made no application of it to Rechabites, Sons of Temperance, &c., because he knows nothing of them. It may be remarked finally, that some who voted for the resolution did not regard it as a test of membership in any case. And no one ad-

vocated the sentiment that present *membership* in a Masonic lodge, disqualified a man for membership in the church,— *Reporter.*

AFTERNOON OF THURSDAY

The report of the Committee on Revisal was taken up and continued during the session. Various interesting amendments were made, which are not very important to the reader in this connection, as he may find them in the Book of Discipline hereafter. All the questions of thrilling interest have been settled. The business is drawing to a close rapidly. The discussions are brief and rapid; too much so to be of interest, and hence they are not noted. The Conference adjourned to meet at half past seven o'clock, P. M.

EVENING SESSION. THURSDAY, OCT. 10.

The first business was the adoption of the following resolution —

“That this Conference heartily approve of the course generally pursued by the ‘TRUE WESLEYAN,’ since its commencement; and that the thanks of this Conference be hereby tendered to the REV. ORANGE SCOTT, Editor and Proprietor of the True Wesleyan, for the manly and Christian manner in which he has set forth and defended Wesleyan Methodism.”

A unanimous rising vote was given on this question. A resolution was introduced recommending Br. Wheelock, of Wisconsin, to the sympathies and benevolence of the Wesleyan Connection, on behalf of the far and feeble bands of Wesleyans in that Western country.

The Committee on Conference Records reported. It presented an encouraging view of the practical operations of the itinerancy of our Church. A few exceptions were taken to the proceedings of one Conference. It gave rise to a brief discussion, but finally the exceptions were stricken out.

The questions proposed by the Miami Conference, were now considered and answered. The pastoral address was read by Br. C. Prindle, and adopted. The Conference now adjourned to meet to-morrow morning, at 8, A. M. Being under the necessity of leaving for Michigan, I was denied the privilege of witnessing and reporting the last items of business transacted. Br. Brewster will attend to it by request.

L. C. MATLACK.

CLEVELAND, O. OCT. 10.

The General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church closed its sitting Friday noon, the 11th inst. The whole business of this body was done up with as much despatch as could consist with its extent and importance. A great amount of business was done. Harmony and good feeling pervaded the body. The Conference exhibited and illustrated the fact that ministers and laymen can work together in the highest councils of the Church, with the most perfect propriety and safety. We are well persuaded that laymen were as much interested in every thing promotive of the welfare of the Church, as ministers could be.

We left Cleveland on Friday evening, at about 11, and arrived at Buffalo on Saturday afternoon, at about 4 o'clock. We spent the Sabbath at Buffalo, with some six other brethren. Not choosing to be idle, some six sermons were preached by the brethren during the day in different places. We came down by Niagara Falls: and leaving Rochester on Thursday morning, about 8 1-2 o'clock, and riding day and night, reached Boston on Wednesday evening at 7 o'clock, travelling the whole distance of 450 miles in less than 36 hours.

J. HORTON.

Br. Brewster never made any report of the last half day's proceedings, that we know of.

PUBLISHER:

REPORTS.

REPORT OF FELLOWSHIPING MEMBERS OF PRO-SLAVERY CHURCHES.

The committee to whom was referred the above subject, beg leave to say that they have had the same under consideration, and present the following as their matured opinion. The memorial presented to the Conference proposes to it the following question. "Is it *lawful* and *right* to admit individual members to the Lord's Supper in our church, who belong to churches which we consider pro-slavery in precept and example?" Your committee are inclined to the opinion, that the above question presents one of those nice points of Christian practice on which it would be difficult to legislate — that the case is one that comes more properly under individual church or pastoral discretionary action. Our position as a denomination or a Christian Connection, is that of non-fellowship with slaveholding. This position does not require us to decide that all members of pro-slavery churches must on account of this membership, be necessarily pro-slavery in character.

The question of the moral dereliction from duty of individuals, in consequence of membership in such churches, must depend upon circumstances of which this Conference cannot have full knowledge, and therefore cannot decide. There are doubtless many persons now members of churches not decidedly anti-slavery in character, who are nevertheless in spirit true friends of the slave. Their want of information and the power of the circumstances under which they are placed, may be such as to preclude the possibility of their acting intelligently and decidedly on the non-fellowship principle. We may, on account of our superior light, regard them as acting inconsistently with strict Christian propriety in retaining membership in churches somewhat pro-slavery; but then we may not be able to decide how nearly they act up to the light they possess. They may be accepted of God, though somewhat inconsistent in anti-slavery practice. We should not grieve those whom God has not grieved. Nor should we attempt, in our Connectional capacity, to make rules to meet that endless variety of cases which may come under individual, pastoral or church supervision. We readily ad-

mit that there may be, that in fact there are many persons, members of pro-slavery churches, who are so pro-slavery in character, that they ought not to be admitted to the Lord's Supper in our churches: but then these cases most properly come under pastoral or church cognizance.

Your committee, therefore, in acting under the best light which they possess, ask to be permitted to present the following resolution, to be adopted by this Conference.

Resolved, That while we are if possible more than ever convinced of the rightfulness of our position as a Connection, in adopting and maintaining the principle of non-fellowship with slave holders,—and while we admit that there are many professed Christians so pro-slavery in character that they ought not to be admitted to fellowship in our churches, nevertheless, we regard it as a matter which requires no further legislative action than that which is already provided for in our excellent discipline.

J. HORTON,
M. HARKER,
R. BENNET.

REPORT ON MISSIONS.

The Committee on Missions beg leave to submit the following Report:

1. That they esteem the cause of Missions of the first importance to the Church of Christ, and especially to her ministers, as constituting an important part of their appropriate work.

2. The missionary work naturally divides itself into two parts,—Home and Foreign.

3. We recommend that the work of Home Missions be left for the present to the several yearly conferences within which, or nearest to which it may lie, as already partially provided for in our Discipline.

4. In the present infantile state of our Church, we do not believe she is able, as such, to engage in the work of Foreign Missions to any great extent: but we believe that there are many persons not connected with us as a Church, who would be willing to contribute to a Foreign Mission not connected with slavery. Therefore, in view of this, and the fact that many of our own members will contribute to Foreign Missions whether our General Conference will or will not take an interest in them,—we recommend the establishment of one general Treasury, into which all moneys for Foreign Missions shall be paid.

5. We recommend the establishment of a Board of Foreign Missions to consist of seven, to be located in New York and vicinity, whose du-

ty it shall be to employ missionaries, appoint them their work, pay them their salaries, determine the appropriation of all moneys, superintend generally the whole work of Foreign Missions, and report their doings annually to each yearly conference and to the General Conference.

6. We recommend that all the ministers and preachers in our Connection, having charge, to preach at least one sermon in each church of each charge during the year, in favor of Foreign Missions, and to take up a collection for their support.

7. And we further recommend that the General Conference advise the several churches throughout our Connection to hold a monthly concert of prayer for the success of missions, on the *first Sabbath evening* of each month.

8. The Committee have learned that some of our yearly conferences have already engaged in Foreign Missions, but not beyond the bounds of our own continent. Of this your Committee approve; but in view of the relation which our Connection sustains to the colored population of the United States and of the world, we recommend that measures be taken to establish a mission at some eligible place on the continent of Africa, at the earliest convenient period.

9. In view of their adaptation to the climate, we recommend the selection and qualification of persons of African extraction for the missionary work on that continent.

LEWIS WOODSON,
JOTHAM HORTON,
W. P. ESLER,
R. BRANDRIFF,
G. PEGLER.

REPORT ON EDUCATION.

The Committee to whom was referred the subject of Education, beg leave to present the following report:

Your Committee are deeply impressed with the importance of this subject. The cause of Education is the cause of God. Science is truly the handmaid of Religion.

It is not a sentiment of this period that "Ignorance is the mother of devotion." No charge, at this day, could be produced against St. Jerome that he had read Homer, or penitent confession demanded of the doctor of Larbonne, that, among his other sins, the muse of Virgil had made him weep for the woes of Dido. The time is past when the works of Tacitus may be condemned to the flames from a Papal chair, because

they encourage infidelity. The time is past when *Livy* is to be expelled from Christian libraries on account of *Livy's* superstition.

This is the age of reason, god-like reason: investigation, close, scrutinizing and patient investigation is at work. The result is every where seen. Long and fixed, yet erroneous opinions are yielding to its influence. Sentiments which had become a part of the very organization of Society, are in process of rejection. Corruptions which were deeply located (incurably, the mass said,) in our political and ecclesiastical system, making them little else then one mass of gangrene, have been attacked, probe has been applied to the seat of the disease. The disease, though desperate — the remedy, though strong but curative — the patient debilitated, yet, under the care of experienced nurses and skilful physicians, we pronounce our patients — our social systems, convalescent, and can safely predict a speedy recovery and certain restoration to all the functions of a regenerated and invigorated existence.

To throw away this figure, there is a bright, a glorious prospect before us especially, as Wesleyan Reformers. Iniquity and corruption have yielded to our attacks, and wherever we plant our standard, victory crowns our efforts. But we need to fortify our territory, extend our conquests and urge the victorious contest even to the last and strongest entrenchment of the enemy. In our glorious warfare we must rely upon our commander and upon the instrumentality which he affords us. Among these, the preaching of the word in its fulness and in the demonstration of the Spirit, is undoubtedly chief. The press will yield great assistance. These we are exerting with success. But there is another instrumentality, which we are by no means at liberty to despise. We allude to the cause of literature, — sound, sanctified learning. While we would not make mere literature a test for the ministerial calling, we would make it an *ornament* to the ministerial character — we would regard it as affording increased means of usefulness to its possessor. The world — our work especially — is demanding an educated ministry. If we cannot supply this demand, others will.

We have already a share of professional men in our ranks, who highly prize the benefits of education themselves, and who are deeply interested in the education of their own families and the community at large.

Our members, generally, from the causes which have made them Wesleyan Methodists, have learned to appreciate the benefits of education. The literary wants of our denominational community are already demanding means of supply.

But there is a peopled, degraded and restricted class, who have hitherto been, to a very great extent, excluded from the schools and seminaries

of our land. For these we need institutions, men and pecuniary assistance.

Your Committee rejoice in the assurance that the spirit which led to the establishment of the Kingswood School, in England, is the spirit of Wesleyan Methodism in this country. Several of our yearly conferences have already taken measures for the establishment of Conference Seminaries; and in one or two, Wesleyan schools are already in successful operation.

The New England Conference has established a Seminary in Dracut, Mass., under the name of "The Wesleyan Institute." Teachers are employed, and the Seminary is in successful operation.

Our brethren in Michigan have taken the preliminary steps for the establishment of a Conference Academy, with a fair prospect of success.

A committee was appointed at the last N. Y. Conference to purchase buildings, located in Royalton Centre, (which had been offered for a Wesleyan Institution,) provided the requisite means could be obtained. There is a reasonable prospect that the New York Institution will soon be in operation.

Your Committee would recommend that each Conference take early and vigorous measures to establish, as soon as practicable, a Seminary for both sexes within its limits, whose advantages shall extend equally to all colors and conditions. Perhaps it is essential to success, that but one Seminary in each Conference be attempted, for some time to come. This will secure concentration, efficiency and ability.

Your Committee would recommend the establishment, at some central point, as soon as Providence may open the way, of a "Wesleyan Collegiate Institute," combining the advantages of literary and theological training, on a plan, in most respects, similar to the "Oberlin Institute." For this purpose, we recommend the appointment of a committee of twelve — to be styled the "Wesleyan Literary Committee" — to whom shall be submitted all propositions for the location of a "Wesleyan Collegiate Institute," proceeding from any station or village. This committee shall have power to correspond on this subject, and decide any question connected with the literary institution. The confirmation commendation or revision of their decision resting with the Second General Conference.

We recommend the adoption of the following resolutions, viz :

1. Resolved, That we regard with especial favor and gratitude, that some of our preachers and ministers, in addition to the arduous labors of the pulpit, have instructed, in day schools, the children of their station who by cruel and wicked laws, are deprived of what should be the common benefits of education.

2. Resolved, That we deem it essential to the character of a Wesleyan Methodist preacher, that he should spend a portion of his time in visiting the schools of his station or circuit, encouraging scholars and teachers, and dispensing to them in school capacity, suitable advice and religious instruction.

3. Resolved, That we recommend to all our brethren the remembrance of College Academies and schools in their devotions, both private and public, that the blessing of God may rest upon those youths who attend them, that they may become truly pious and devoted to the best interests of their fellow men.

4. Resolved, That the supposition that the Scriptures do not require Christians, and especially Christian ministers, to study and become truly learned, when circumstances will permit, is a great and dangerous error.

5. Resolved, That the duties of the ministers are such as demand of him to be as well qualified in the great truths of the Bible, and the general principles of science, as he consistently can.

6. Resolved, That the proper improvement of the minds of young men, who are called of God to the ministry in scientific and biblical knowledge, is a subject of as high importance, and as full of promise as any which may be brought before our people; and the money which may be necessarily expended in its promotion, will ultimately do much towards the universal triumph of every benevolent enterprise.

O. SCOTT,	} Committee.
E. SMITH,	
W. M. SULLIVAN,	
R. McMURDY,	
L. C. MATLACK.	

REPORT ON ITINERANCY AND CONFERENCE JOURNALS.

The Committee on Itinerancy and Conference Journals report that they have examined the Journals of five of the annual Conferences, (the journals of the Champlain Conference not being present,) and find them fair and correct, with the exception of the Allegheny Conference. The journals of this Conference for its second session (we have not seen the minutes of the first) are defective, obscure, and somewhat confused.

On the general subject of itinerancy, your committee would remark, that they are fully of the opinion that it does not need the bishop's power to set the machinery in motion, or of an effective itinerancy to keep it in operation. We apprehend that enlightened Christian zeal will do more in evangelizing the world by means of an itinerant ministry than all the Episcopacy on the earth. None but a voluntary itinerancy is ex-

ther primative or scriptural. Such an itinerancy has worked well with us thus far, and we have no fear of a failure, while the love of God burns in our hearts.

Very considerable services have been rendered to our course by the efficient itinerant services of the presidents of four of the yearly conferences, who have been employed by their conferences to travel at large. The other two have also rendered considerable service abroad, though they have been mostly confined to stations.

We highly approve of the employment of presidents of conferences and other brethren as evangelists. And we are happy to know that many brethren in the ministry have not waited to be sent by human authority, but have acted under the influence of Wesley's dictation, "The world is my parish;" and have greatly enlarged their charges and formed new circuits by means of missionary labors. American Wesleyanism, especially in the West, has been truly primitive, and very much like that form of Christianity which went forth from Oxford about one hundred years ago. So far as we can learn, quarterly meetings in most of the circuits are regularly held, and well attended, and have already proved a great blessing to the Connection.

In conclusion, your Committee earnestly pray that from this day forward, a spirit may go forth among our preachers and people that shall arouse the nation and spread scriptural holiness over these lands.

HIRAM NCKEE, *Chairman.*

BOUNDARIES OF YEARLY CONFERENCES.

1. The New York Conference comprises so much of the State of New York as is not included in the Champlain, St. Lawrence and Rochester conferences, and New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania.

2. The New England Conference comprises the New England States, except that portion of Vermont west of the Green Mountains.

3. The Champlain Conference comprises all that part of Vermont lying west of the Green Mountains, and including in the State of New York, Clinton, Essex, Warren, Washington, and Saratoga counties, and so much of Rensselaer county as lies north of a line running from the southwest corner of the State of Vermont to the city of Troy, including Troy.

4. St. Lawrence Conference comprises the Franklin, St. Lawrence, Jefferson, and Lewis counties, in the State of New York, and so much of Oswego county as lies east of the Oswego river.

5. Rochester Conference comprises Tioga, Cortland and Onondaga counties in the State of New York, and that part of Oswego county

west of the Oswego river, and all that part of the State of New York lying west of the above named counties.

6. The Allegheny Conference includes that part of Pennsylvania west of the Alleghany mountains, and that part of Ohio east of the Scioto river, to the mouth of the Little Scioto, thence to Upper Sandusky, and along the Sandusky river to Sandusky bay, and Western Virginia.

7. The Miami Conference comprises that part of Ohio not included in the Allegheny Conference, and the State of Indiana.

8. The Michigan Conference comprises the State of Michigan.

9. The Illinois Conference comprises the State of Illinois.

10. The Wisconsin Conference comprises the Territories of Wisconsin and Iowa.

REPORT ON THE OBSERVANCE OF THE SABBATH.

The Committee to whom was referred the subject of the Sabbath, beg leave to present the following preamble and resolutions for the consideration of the Conference.

That whereas they consider the Christian Sabbath to be of divine authenticity, and consequently obligatory on all professing Christians, they do hereby recommend to all our people its faithful and uniform observance, not only as it regards themselves and families, but also those over whom they may exercise the control.

1. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of all our ministers, by their example and precept, to prevent as far as possible their people from light and worldly conversation, and from visiting or receiving formal visits from their friends on the Sabbath day.

2. *Resolved*, That we urge upon our people regular attendance on the preaching of the word, Sabbath schools, and Bible classess on the Sabbath.

3. *Resolved*, That we discourage the transporting of the mail, or taking out of papers and letters on the Sabbath, or filling any office which requires the violation of the holy Sabbath.

4. *Resolved*, That we advise and recommend to all our ministers the importance of bringing this subject as often as may be consistent with other ministerial duties, before the several congregations of which they may be pastors.

5. *Resolved*. That we will not tolerate in any of our people the becoming stockholders in Sabbath breaking companies or corporations.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

S. H. CHASE, *Chairman*.

REPORT.

The Committee to whom was referred the communication of Rev. J. N. Mars, colored minister, of Salem, Mass., inquiring whether colored preachers can be stationed over white congregations, in the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, report:

That the Wesleyan Discipline has no respect to "pedigree or color;" and that in our economy all colors and conditions are considered on a level. We know of no reason, therefore, why colored ministers may not be appointed, in certain cases, to serve white congregations.

O. SCOTT,

J. H. VINCENT,

EDWARD SMITH.

 BOOKS AND PERIODICALS.

1. There shall be a Book Concern in the city of New York, the affairs of which shall be managed by a general agent and a book committee, consisting of twelve members, six of whom shall be ministers or preachers, as follows: one stationed minister or preacher from New York, one from Philadelphia, one from Troy, and one from Albany, together with two unstationed ministers from New York or vicinity. The other six shall be laymen from New York city. This committee shall be appointed annually by the New York Conference.

2. There shall also be published, in connection with the Book Concern, one religious newspaper, under the patronage of the General Conference, to be called "THE TRUE WESLEYAN," under the supervision of an Editor appointed by the General Conference.

3. The Agent and Editor shall be members of the Book Committee.

4. The Book Committee shall fix the salary of the Agent and Editor, they shall determine what books shall be published, and shall also fix the price of the same: provided that it shall be the duty of the Agent to publish any work recommended by two thirds of the members of any two annual conferences. They shall have power to fill all vacancies that may occur in their own board in the interval of the New York Conference, by resignation, death, or otherwise: and they may remove the Agent or Editor if they judge the interests of the cause require such removal, and may fill his place till the next session of the New York Conference, which shall fill the vacancy. This Committee shall make an annual exhibition of the state of the Concern to each yearly conference, and shall also present a full report to the General Conference.

5. Seven members of the Committee shall constitute a quorum for

the transaction of business, except in the removal of an Agent or Editor, when it shall require a vote of a majority of all the members of the board.

6. The Agent and Editor shall be accountable to the New York Conference for their conduct, and the faithful discharge of their duties, and if ministers, shall, by virtue of their appointment, be members of the New York Conference.

7. The Book Committee shall be an advisory council of the Editor, and shall have a right to decide, when requested by him, or when they judge the interests of the cause require it, on what shall be published in *The True Wesleyan*.

8. Meetings of the Book Committee may be called at any time by the Agent, or by any three members of the board; and when such meetings are called, it shall be the duty of the secretary always to notify all the resident members, unless public notice be given in the *Wesleyan*.

9. There shall be depositories of all publications issuing from the Wesleyan press, in New York, at Boston, Pittsburgh, Pa., Cincinnati, O., and also at Ann Arbor, or some place within the bounds of the Michigan Conference. The books shall be sent to these depositories at the expense of the Concern, and the agents of these depositories shall be allowed 30 per cent. discount from the retail prices. These depositories shall be entirely under the control of the general Agent.

10. Preachers and wholesale purchasers shall be allowed 25 per cent. discount on all Wesleyan publications, whether ordered from New York, or any depository: and when fifty dollars worth or more shall be ordered at one time, with the cash in advance, the books shall be sent to any part of the country at the risk and expense of the Concern, and not of those who purchase.

11. It shall be the duty of all agents of depositories, and others ordering books, to make remittances as fast as the books are sold, — and all accounts must be settled at the close of each conference year, *at farthest*

12. It shall be the duty of all Wesleyan ministers and preachers, to use their influence to extend the circulation of our books and periodicals.

13. The agent shall be at liberty to publish, with the consent of the Book Committee, a periodical to be entitled the "*WESLEYAN QUARTERLY REVIEW*," when, in his judgment, such a work can be sustained.

14. The Editor of the *True Wesleyan* shall be the editor of the *Juvenile Wesleyan*, and of our Sabbath school books, — and the Agent shall be editor of all the books on our general catalogue, and shall transact all the financial business of the whole establishment.

15. All the property of the Concern shall be held in trust for the

Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America by the Book Committee, whose duty it shall be to procure an act of incorporation as soon as practicable.

16. For the purpose of carrying on the business concern with greater facility, there shall be a fund of from ten to twenty thousand dollars raised on the joint stock plan, in shares of one hundred dollars each, the legal interest of which shall be paid annually in cash or books at wholesale prices, and the principal as soon as the state of the Concern will allow, and at farthest, within the space of eight years.

17. All persons who receive books from the agents of depositories may make their remittances directly to the general Agent at New York, when more convenient, which shall be credited to the account of the sub-agent to whom it belongs.

The Committee on Books and Periodicals beg leave to report the following as the result of their farther deliberations, viz. :

We recommend the General Conference to order the publishing of class books and quarterly tickets.

We recommend the General Conference to order the publishing of Sturtevant's Preachers' Manual, — to instruct our Book Agent to keep on hand such books as may be recommended by the yearly conferences as a course of study.

We are of the opinion that the wants of our Connection require the establishment of depositories of books at the following places, viz. : — Boston, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and at Ann Arbor, or some other place in Michigan.

We believe the establishment of a Western paper would be highly useful, and therefore recommend the establishment of such a paper provided it can be conducted and sustained upon individual responsibility. Report adopted.

GENERAL CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend, that no Wesleyan Methodist publish, during the next four years, any work published by the Wesleyan Book Concern at New York, but that all unite in sustaining, to the utmost of their ability, the general Concern.

On motion,

Voted, That this Conference appoint a minister within the bounds of each of the new conferences, who shall have power to appoint the time and place of the first meeting of the new conferences.

Whereupon, Rufus Lumry was appointed for Illinois, Daniel G. Cartwright for Wisconsin, Geo. Pegler for Rochester, and Lyndon King for St. Lawrence.

On motion, *Voted*, That Champlain and St. Lawrence Conferences have permission to meet in one body, at the time and place as determined upon at the last Champlain Conference.

The Book Agent was recommended to employ Cyrus Prindle to prepare a new edition of the Hymn Book.

Resolved, That the whole subject of expenses of delegates be referred to the delegations of the several yearly conferences. Adopted.

Whereas, Wm. A. Smith, D. D., of Virginia, has challenged Doct. Bond, of New York, to a public debate on the subject of slavery, therefore

Resolved, That in case Doct. Bond shall decline to accept said challenge, the Rev. Luther Lee be requested to accept at his earliest convenience. Adopted.

Resolved, That we are under obligations of respect to the officers of this Conference for the able, impartial, and faithful manner in which they have discharged their duties in all the deliberations of the present session. Adopted unanimously.

Whereas, we have several young societies in Wisconsin, and not a single meeting-house in the Territory; and *whereas*, we are to have a Wisconsin Conference, and as there is no place at present in which the

conference can meet, and as our aged and respected brother Wheelock, from that territory, is to solicit aid to build a church in an important position in that country, therefore we will authorize brother Wheelock to take up collections for said church in any of our churches, and we recommend to our people to aid in this holy enterprise.

Resolved, That the Reports and Resolutions of this Conference be and hereby are referred to Orange Scott and Jotham Horton for publication.
 — Adopted.

Resolved, That the Discipline be published under the inspection and direction of Orange Scott, Jotham Horton and William H. Brewster.
 — Adopted.

